Der Name der Stadt ist Τανις (vgl. die LXX), koptisch: ϫⲁⲁⲛⲉ.[45] Der Text lautet:

ⲫ̅ⲓ̅ ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲧⲥⲱϣⲉ ⲛϫⲁⲁⲛⲉ
ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϫⲁⲛⲏ
ⲧⲁⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲕⲧⲁⲗϭⲉ ⲛϭⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲉ
ⲉⲕϯ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲉϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ

Die Übersetzung hat:

510 Bringe meine Seele heraus aus dem Acker von Tanis
damit ich deine Lade sehe genannt Kiste
und ich dich sehe, der (oder: wie) du die Lahmen und die Kranken heilst
und den Blinden das Licht gibst und die Dämonen austreibst.[46]

IV. *Schlussbemerkungen*

1. Wir stimmen Leipoldt bei, wenn er feststellt: 'Mit dem Triadon endet die saïdische Literatur'.[47] Youhanna Nessim Youssefs Aussage 'Le manuscrit 106 . . . contient les derniers textes qui nous sont parvenus en dialecte copte sahidique' ist verfehlt, weil die Handschrift (angesetzt um das Jahr 1374) keine Literatur ist, sondern feste liturgische Anweisungen für das Myronkochen enthält.[48]

2. Zu beachten ist das Weiterleben altägyptischer religiöser Elemente. Wir begegneten in Vers 718 der Amunbarke. Und so tritt in Vers 678 der altägyptische Glaube an die Unversehrtheit des Leibes hervor.[49]

3. Der Verfasser bleibt anonym aber sein Geburtsort könnte durchaus Achmim gewesen sein. Er schrieb das Triadon als er alt geworden war (Vers 611). Hat er in seiner Jugend vielleicht die Inschriften, die Latopolis und Panopolis als christusliebende Städte

[45] Zur Etymologie des namens vgl. W. VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue Copte* (Leuven, 1984), S. 328 und W. WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965/1977), S. 482. CRUM in seinem *Coptic Dictionary* s.v. ϫⲁⲛⲉ, 773^{b} führt unsere Stelle 510,2 an.

[46] Nur übersetze ich statt Arche mit Lade. Vgl. J. HELDERMAN, Die Bundeslade ⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ. Ihre Geschichte als ein Metapher in der Umwelt der Manichäer, in: CIRILLO – A. VAN TONGERLOO (ed.), *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Manicheismo e Oriente Christiano Antico* (Leuven, 1997), S. 145.

[47] LEIPOLDT aO S. 177.

[48] YOUHANNA NESSIM YOUSSEF, Les textes en dialecte sahidique du Ms 106 Lit., Bibliothèque Patriarchale au Caire (La coction du Myron), *BSAC* 37 (1998), S. 121-133.

[49] Vgl. TH. BAUMEISTER, *Martyr Invictus* (Münster, 1972), S. 160-172 (über die ägyptische Mentalität und Volksreligiosität). Vgl. auch M. KRAUSE, Das Weiterleben ägyptischer Vorstellungen und Bräuche im koptischen Totenwesen, in: *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), S. 90 und dazu NAGEL aO S. 143.

bezeichnen, in der Kirche des Weissen Klosters betrachtet? Das 'grosse Lob' besagt ebenfalls vieles.[50]

4. Eine Grammatik des Triadon muss immer noch geschrieben werden. Laut einer Mitteilung in der Newsletter der International Association for Coptic Studies[51] hat W. Brunsch sich dieser Aufgabe angenommen. Er teilte mir jedoch brieflich mit er habe seine Arbeit an einer Grammatik eingestellt. Der Weg ist also frei. Ein künftiger Autor müsste jedoch gute Kenntnisse im Arabischen besitzen um die Eigenart des Koptischen evaluieren zu können.

Nach dem Triadon schwieg das Koptische im literarischen Leben Ägyptens. Es hinterliess dennoch eine schöne Erbschaft: die Kennzeichnung einer oberägyptischen Stadt als 'hell leuchtend': Panopolis.

[50] NAGEL bemerkt aO S. 22 Anm. 14 zu Leipoldts Aussage der 'Ort Panos (sei) seine Heimat' S. 177: 'Das ist weder zu widerlegen noch zu beweisen'. Man dürfte jedoch aus guten Gründen für Achmim plädieren.

[51] Siehe *Newsletter I.A.C.S.* 32 (1993), S. 16 und *Newsletter I.A.C.S.* 38 (1998), S. 18.

SHEILA MCNALLY

SYNCRETISM IN PANOPOLIS? THE EVIDENCE OF THE "MARY SILK" IN THE ABEGG STIFTUNG[1]

In antiquity, Panopolis was well-known for producing textiles and in the last two centuries it has become well-known for the large numbers that have been excavated there. Textiles often show us aspects of society we might otherwise miss. Some distinctly bedraggled fragments of silk give us a glimpse of how someone who probably lived in Panopolis, perhaps around AD 400, was handling a confrontation of beliefs. These fragments, often called the "Mary Silk" (Marienseide), depict scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary (fig. 1).[2] Looking at them, we see the designer working out some implications of Christian stories and weighing their relationship to older traditions.

A little more than ten years ago, the conservators at the Abegg Stiftung in Riggisberg outside Bern announced their discovery that this silk had been buried in the same grave with a very different piece, a large wall hanging showing Dionysos with his followers (fig. 2).[3] The Dionysiac hanging was certainly woven in Egypt, probably in Panopolis during the

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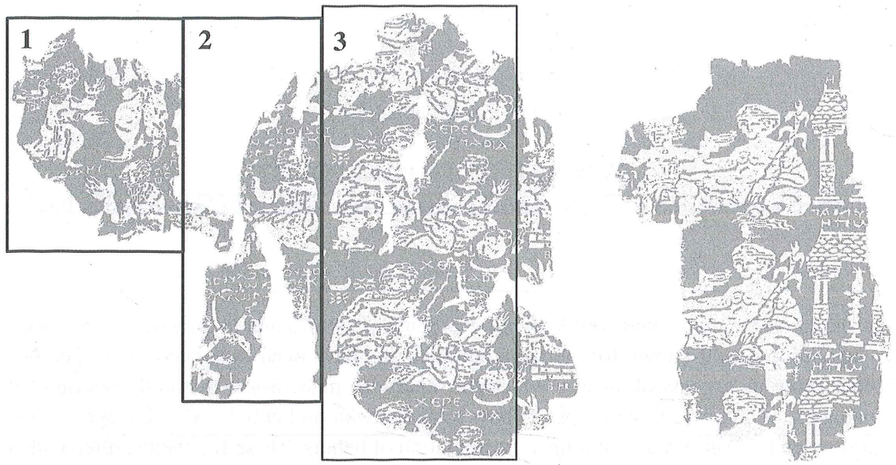
[1] I am most grateful to Arno Egberts and Jacques van der Vliet for providing me an opportunity to give this paper in Leiden, and to benefit from such a stimulating and pleasant gathering. Many of the ideas were first embodied in a paper at the Byzantine Studies Conference at Madison, Wisconsin, September 1997. I am greatly indebted to Mary Lee Coulson and Ann Laidlaw, both of whom read drafts at various stages; to Nicholas Constas, who offered valuable corrections, to David Jordan, who caught many errors and gave much encouragement, and to Eunice Maguire and Philip Sellew, who gave significantly from their expertise.

[2] This, and all subsequent illustrations, are schematic, computer-generated images, produced by Michael Tiffany. They show the basic elements of composition discussed in this text, but should not be analysed for fine details that are often unclear in the originals.

[3] M. FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research. Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung Bern* VII (Bern, 1988), 364-367, 502, inventory numbers 3100a (hanging) and b (silk). The hanging is a tapestry of linen and colored wool, now measuring about 720 by 220 cm and once considerably larger. The silk is a samite, or weft-faced compound twill weave ("weft-faced twill, single main warp", A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna, 1997), 211) showing blue-green figures against a red ground. Reconstructed, the surviving fragments measure about eighteen and a half centimeters in height, forty-two in width. A brief notice about the hanging appeared in 1987: M. FLURY-LEMBERG – D. WILLERS, *Der Dionysos-Behang der Abegg Stiftung* (Riggisberg, 1987). Subsequently, the conservators discovered evidence that the hanging had been wrapped around the silk, and both around a body (FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research*, 366-367).



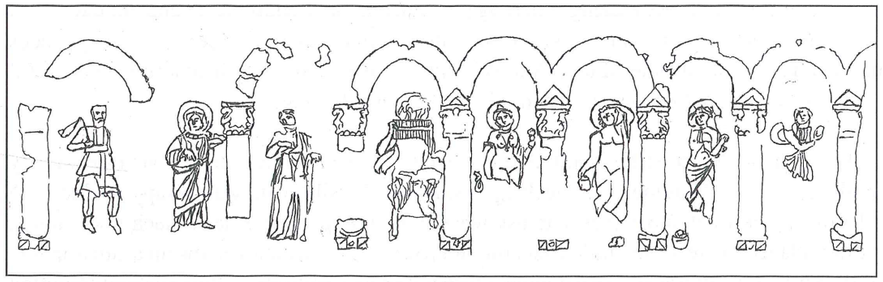
1. Silk Fragments: vertical lines indicate the three scenes to be discussed.

first part of the Fourth Century.[4] The origin of the silk is less clear, but could also have been Panopolis, around 400, or somewhat later.[5] They were probably buried together in the great cemetery outside that city from which so many Late Antique textiles have already come — and where, in recent years, Copts have again begun to bury their dead.[6]

[4] Provenance, D. WILLERS, 'Zur Deutung eines spätantiken Wandbehangs aus Ägypten', *Wiss. Z. WPU* G-Series 37 (1988), 76; idem, 'Dionysos und Christus - ein archaeologisches Zeugnis zur Konfessionsangehörigkeit des Nonnos', *Museum Helveticum* 49 (1992), 150; idem, 'Zur Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten', *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten* (Riggisberg, 1993), 13; date, idem, *Museum Helveticum* 49 (1992), 148, deferring detailed discussion. Provenance and date depend on close comparanda: FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research*, 364-365; WILLERS, 'Dionysos und Christus', 147 note 32, 148; idem, 'Zur Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum', 12.

[5] Dating around 400, FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research,* 368; L. KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung. Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Szenenfolge', *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum in spätantiken Ägypten* (Riggisberg, 1993), 188, 192. E. JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort: das Marienleben und die Kindheit Jesu in der christlichen Kunst vom 4. bis 8. Jh. und ihre apokryphen Quellen* (Vorabdruck der Habilitationsschrift) (Warsaw, 1992), 142, prefers a date later in the Fifth Century. Figured silks in Berlin, Chelles, Riggisberg, Sens, and Sion are not closely similar: FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research,* 368; KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 191-192, cf. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, 80. Panopolis became a center of silk making, see e.g., M. MARTINIANI-REBER, *Lyon, musèe historique des tissus: Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines V^e-XIe siècles* (Paris, 1986), 80-97, but its products may be hard to identify: MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, 81.

[6] Early cemetery, references, S. MCNALLY – I. SCHRUNK, *Excavations in Akhmim, Egypt* (Oxford, 1993), 8, 9. Recent burials, S. MCNALLY, 'Transformations of Ecclesiastical Space: Churches in the Area of Akhmim', *BASP* 35 (1998), 94-95.



2. Dionysiac hanging: schematic rendering of layout.

The discovery that the two pieces had been in one grave, of course, provided a new impetus for studies of the relationship between beliefs in Late Antiquity, studies that often invoked the concept of "syncretism", and made reference to Nonnos of Panopolis. One scholar has argued that Nonnos' writings show at the same time a genuine reverence for both Christ and Dionysos, and has pointed to this grave as demonstrating that a similar attitude existed in his native city around the time he was growing up there.[7] Whether or not that is a correct reading of Nonnos,[8] I am sure it is an incorrect interpretation of this grave.

Trying to explain this combination of textiles will not be my main concern here, but any consideration of the situation should start by recognizing that the two pieces had different functions in the grave, with different values attached to them. The silk probably went into the grave in its original function, as fine clothing; the hanging had lost its original function and assumed a new one, as a shroud.[9] That reuse of the hanging may roughly parallel use of

[7] WILLERS, 'Dionysos und Christus', 141- 151; idem, 'Zur Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum', 13-14; see also A. STAUFFER, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien: Untersuchungen zur ikonographischen Tradition in spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Textilwerkstätten* (Bern, 1992), 18-19.

[8] Much has been said about Nonnos' religious beliefs, and Enrico Livrea's paper in the present symposium demonstrates the need for care and subtlety in interpretation. As a non-expert, I have been impressed by Sherry's arguments that Nonnos did not write the *Paraphrase*, and am hesitant to assess the significance of contacts with Christianity evidenced in the *Dionysiaka* without more consideration of Sherry's thesis: B. COULIE – L.F. SHERRY – CETEDOC, *Thesaurus Pseudo-Nonni Quondam Panopolitani: Paraphrasis Evangelii S. Ioannis* (Brussels, 1995), vii-ix; L.F. SHERRY, 'The Hexameter Paraphrase of St. John attributed to Nonnus of Panopolis: Prolegomenon and translation' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1991). If Nonnos did not write the *Paraphrase*, it remains significant that he was considered a suitable author. COULIE – SHERRY (viii) say the *Paraphrase*, however, can have been written any time between 451 and 630, so the ascription need not tell us anything about the Fourth and early Fifth Centuries.

[9] On clothing and wrapping bodies for burial, see: J. CLEDAT, *DACL* II[1], sv 'Baouït', col. 215; A. GAYET, *Le costume en Egypte du IIIe au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1900), 32-36, 47; R. FORRER, *Mein Besuch in el-Achmim: Reisebriefe aus Ägypten* (Strassbourg, 1895), 45; A.F. KENDRICK, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds in Egypt.* I *Graeco-Roman Period* (London, 1920), 14-16; M.H. RUTSCHOWSCAYA, *Coptic Fabrics* (Paris, 1990), 14; L. TÖRÖK, *Coptic Antiquities* II (Rome, 1988), 13-14. It often seemed important that the clothing be

Westf. Wilh.-Univ.
Institut für
Altertumskunde
48143 Münster

architectural spolia: recognizing a heritage in order to both appropriate and subdue it.[10] I doubt that "syncretism" should ever mean indiscriminate amalgamation. Certainly it does not in this burial, and the Mary silk proves that. We will see that it incorporates careful experiments in adopting, adapting and rejecting a pagan heritage.

Each textile describes the spiritual experiences of a woman: an anonymous Roman lady on the Dionysiac hanging, and the Virgin Mary on the silk. One way of approaching the relationship between the pieces is to ask whether their experiences have much in common. At first glance, there seems little basis for comparison. The hanging sums up a ritual in one framework; the silk traces a development through several episodes. Both relate to initiation but only if that word is used very broadly. Their differing formats offer only superficial opportunities to compare object to object or person to person. Much can, however, be said about the values each illustrates. I will argue that the later piece, the Mary Silk, incorporates important values found in the hanging and elsewhere in Dionysiac imagery, but does so carefully and gives predominance to values that are totally foreign to the world of Dionysos.

On the one hand, emphasizing this relationship runs the risk of distorting the Mary silk: it was not designed as a counterpoint to the hanging. On the other hand, we will see that two, at least, of its images do seem to invite comparison with pagan imagery. The designer was trying to work out something new and was drawing on many sources, including a Dionysiac heritage treated with a mixture of acceptance and criticism.

Both pieces raise a host of issues, so it is no wonder that we are still awaiting their full publication by Dietrich Willers and Liselotte Kötzsche. In the meantime, the curator at the Abegg Stiftung, Karel Otavsky, has been more than generous in allowing scholars to examine them and in encouraging short studies.[11] Significant facts can be established although important issues remain obscure.

The scenes on the hanging begin gravely, breaking into music and dance in the less well preserved parts, and exuding floral and vegetal richness throughout. According to the dominant interpretation, the figures sum up the process of initiation. The woman in rich contemporary dress (second from the right), the only figure with a blue halo, is usually identified as the person being initiated. Escorted by two sponsors or mystagogues, she approaches Dionysos and his company: a Pan, Ariadne, a Satyr, a Maenad, and, originally, at least one more figure.[12] Janine Balty has stressed similarities between these figures and those on a Sixth Century mosaic from Sarrin in northeastern Syria. Since many of these similarities recur as isolated elements on other pieces from Late Antiquity, she concluded that there was "une tradition bien établie, mettant en scène des personnages dont l'iconographie est connue", and Willers has shown that a formula already existed when this hanging was made.[13]

The designer of the silk had to be far more innovative, probably finding preexisting models for only a couple of its scenes. Instead of a mature figure joining an immortal group, the silk shows a young girl's progress into womanhood. So far it is a unique piece, possibly the earliest rendering of this cycle of the life of Mary,[14] and probably carefully chosen. The Syrian Bishop Asterius, who died around 410, sharply criticized the wearing of such rich clothing with pictures of Christian stories, but he acknowledged the piety, however mistaken, of those who did so (*Homil.* I). He emphasized the patron's role in choosing the subjects and apparently providing models: He says "rich men and women . . . selected pictures from the Holy Story and give them to the weaver to depict".[15] What they give, text or drawing, is not clear, but in one recorded case, not necessarily involving a Christian subject, a

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new, or at least valuable: A. GAYET, *L'exploration des nécropoles gréco-byzantines d'Antinoë et les sarcophages des tombes pharaoniques de la ville antique* (Paris, 1902): 39; STAUFFER, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien*, 28-29. Pictures on clothing could help their living wearers, perhaps also the dead: see H. MAGUIRE, 'Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 215-224, although the Mary silk does not have the qualities he describes as "amuletic". Shrouds apparently played a different role, since the iconoclastic Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 408) considered a hanging with a (Christian) "idol" "a defilement" if it hung in a church, but "advised that it should be used to wrap up a poor man who had died": cited in C. MANGO, *Art of the Byzantine World, 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto, c1986), 42-43. Probably such reuse was equally appropriate as a way to dispose of an offensively pagan hanging. I am grateful to an anonymous reader for this suggestion.

[10] I have argued previously that the size of this hanging indicates production for a cult room (see also WILLERS, 'Dionysos und Christus', 148) and that therefore removing it from display probably reflected decline in the cult (papers at the Byzantine Studies Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, September 1997 and Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., December, 1994).

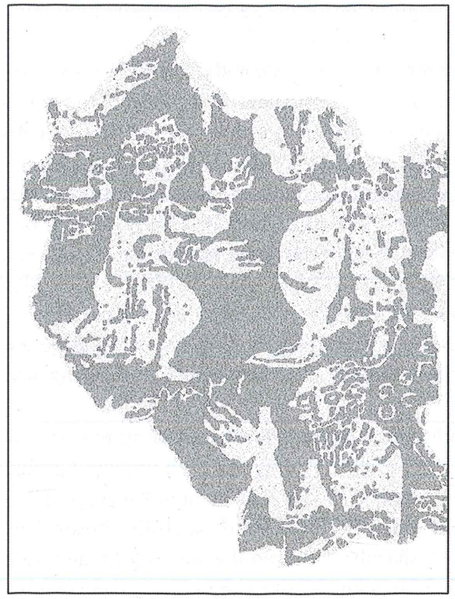
[11] I thank the Abegg Stiftung, and particularly Dr. Otavsky, for their kindness in arranging for me to see these pieces in the winter of 1996 when the museum was closed to the public. It was a great pleasure and benefit to be able to spend a full day under the most hospitable conditions looking at the textiles.

[12] J. BALTY, *La mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène)* (BAH 140, Paris, 1990).; idem, 'La mosaïque mythologique de Sarrin', *Antike Kunst* 34 (1991), 84; idem, 'Notes d'iconographie dionysiaque: la mosaïque du Sarrin (Osrhòene)', *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient: chronologie, iconographie, interprétation.* (Paris, 1995), 255-262 (reprint from *MEFRA* 103 (1991), 19-33: citation here from 1995 edition); WILLERS, 'Zur Deutung eines spätantiken Wandbehangs aus Ägypten', 76-79; idem, 'Dionysos und Christus', 141- 151. E.P. DE LOOS-DIETZ agrees on the rite, but differs as to who is being initiated: 'Le *Monosandalos* dans l'Antiquité', *BaBesch* 69 (1994), 175-197. I thank Dr. Otavsky for drawing this article to my attention.

[13] BALTY, *La mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène)*, 91; WILLERS, 'Dionysos und Christus', 147-148.

[14] But see JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 135, 141-142. STAUFFER finds limited evidence for a Mary cycle in Eastern textiles of the period of the Mary silk and later: *Spätantike koptische Wirkereien*, 158, note 69; *Textiles of Late Antiquity* (New York, 1995), 13.

[15] FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research*, 368-369 (her translation); see also KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 193-94; on Asterius generally, MAGUIRE, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 220; STAUFFER, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien*, 27-28.



3. Mary before the High Priest, Mary Silk.

weaver asked his client for a sketch.[16] The innovative nature of this design, which will be discussed below, suggests that it may well have been made or at least closely supervised by whoever ordered the cloth.

Asterius also emphasizes the impression such weavings made on viewers: this designer is taking pains to communicate difficult or unusual information. Today, the lively scenes are hard to decipher, because only small fragments remain of what was once a large length of cloth with a repeating pattern, here preserved three times in height and perhaps almost complete in length.[17] Once, the repetitions, and the emphatic forms, would have been easier to read. Two devices for emphasizing meaning, i.e., the large, gesturing hands and copious inscriptions, recur in other Egyptian narrative textiles of the period.[18] Greater and more unusual attempts at narrative precision on this piece are the vigorous but often ambiguous poses and abundant detail, especially detail in inanimate objects.

These details pose problems. As the textile is displayed, carefully, in low light, they are hard to decipher. So is much of the writing, which cannot be analyzed on the basis of the

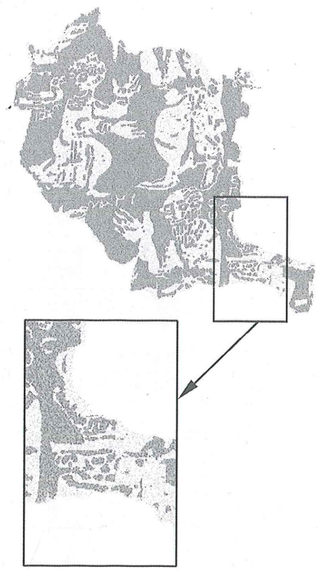
[16] STAUFFER's interpretation (*Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien*, 26) of P. Giss. I 12; see also E. WIPSZYCKA, *L'industrie textile dans l'Egypte romaine* [Wroclaw, 1965], 82).

[17] FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research*, 368, and KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 185, believe that the last detail on the right of the fragmentary Mary silk is the beginning of the repeat in width, as KÖTZSCHE illustrates it, op. cit., fig. 1, p. 183. This highly significant detail cannot be discussed here.

[18] These qualities can be seen on two of the silks, not certainly Egyptian, cited as comparanda by Flury-Lemberg and Kötzsche: (1) the Joseph silk in Sens, E. CHARTRAIRE, *Le Trésor de la Cathédrale de Sens* (Paris, 1931) II, 45; KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 191-192, fig. 2; MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, 169-170 M16 pls. 26B, 59B. Its Coptic origin is uncertain: see G. VIKAN, in *Age of Spirituality*, ed. K. WEITZMANN, (New York, 1979) cat # 413, fig. p. 463; A. MUTHESIUS, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving* (London, 1995), 137; eadem., *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, 80. (2) the Samuel silk in Chelles, J-P. LAPORTE, *Le Trésor des Saints de Chelles* (Chelles, 1988), 135-137; KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 192, fig. 3; MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, 294, M121a, b, c.

information available at present.[19] I will discuss this piece mainly on the basis of the published drawings, and concentrate on clearly visible features.

Three complete scenes survive together with parts of either two or three more. I follow the identifications of Flury-Lemberg and Kötzsche, with minor emendations. According to them, the first scene at the left shows Mary in the Temple with the High Priest (figs. 1(1), 3); next, barely visible behind the Priest is a basket, probably containing the wool she spun when she left the Temple (fig. 4); after that, very badly preserved, comes the Selection of Joseph (figs. 1(2), 5); then finally the Annunciation (figs. 1(3), 6). After these, the more fragmentary side preserves small parts of a Manger scene, a scene that may be the First Bath, and a building labelled "synagogue".[20] None of these last images now shows a complete interaction, so I will concentrate here on the three on the left. They are the ones that trace Mary's development.



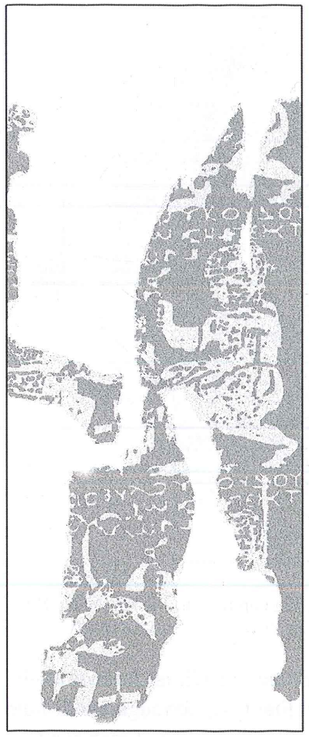
4. Column capital and basket, Mary Silk.

Each of the first three scenes can be related to the Second Century account of the life of Mary and the infancy of Christ known as the *Protevangelium Jacobi*.[21] These pictures often diverge from that text, although I will note

[19] Everyone has found these letters difficult to decipher. Flury-Lemberg gives readings deciphered by Rodolphe Kasser and Anna Kasser-Di Bitonto of the University of Geneva, which do not always coincide with the published drawings (FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research*, 369, note 3; cf. JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 44, note 63).

[20] FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research*, 367-368; KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 183-194. JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 43-44, has raised objections to the first and fifth identifications. For the first, see note 45 below. The fifth raises problems outside the scope of this paper, as does the final detail on the right (see note 17 above).

[21] É. DE STRYCKER, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques* (Brussels, 1961), date around 200: 412-413; Egypt the most probable place of composition: 419-423. Date in the second half of the Second Century. O. CULLMANN, 'The Protevangelium of James' in W. SCHNEEMELCHER – R.MCL. WILSON, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha.* rev. ed. (Louisville, Kentucky, 1991), 423. The earliest extant manuscript, not the original, is Bodmer V: M. TESTUZ, *Papyrus Bodmer V: Nativité de Marie* (Cologny-Geneva, 1958); DE STRYCKER, loc. cit. There are two recent English translations, one by R.F. HOCK, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*, Santa Rosa, CA, c1995 (reprinted in R.F. HOCK, *The Life of Mary and the Birth of Jesus*, Berkeley CA, 1997), and the second, edited by R.MCL. WILSON, in W. SCHNEEMELCHER–D R.MCL. WILSON, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha.* rev. ed. (Louisville, Kentucky, 1991).



5. Selection of Joseph, Mary Silk.

only a few of the deviations.[22] (Parallels for each episode can be found in many cultures' accounts of the initiation, or education, of girls: to use Versnel's phrasing, first comes seclusion [Mary in the Temple], then "acquisition of womanly skills" [the wool basket]; and finally "the unsealing of sexuality", here, of course, altered to the opening of fertility.[23])

All the scenes incorporate elements that would be familiar in a Dionysiac setting, but that does not mean they derive from such a setting, or that their use here would be compatible with one. Origins and compatibility remain to be considered in each case. My particular focus will be the Annunciation, since it shows the most striking examples of the designer's interests in drawing on various sources. Then I will look quickly at the preceding scenes to underscore the flexibility of approach, and the importance of sequence.

This scene is one of the first surviving depictions, if not the first, of the Annunciation in any form, and of a rare but significant type, the so-called "Virgin at the Spring". Mary kneels at the right, lowering her jar toward a curved outline. She looks back over her shoulder at the angel. He is wingless, dressed in a short tunic and cloak, and carries a staff — these are the characteristics that have suggested a Fourth Century date.[24] He salutes Mary with a carefully outlined gesture, and speaks, his words, ΧΕΡΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ, hanging in the air between them.[25] Behind him are a crescent moon, a star, and something that is probably another star.

[22] The variations raise a major issue for future consideration, i.e., the likelihood of alternative versions. JASTRZĘBOWSKA's argument (*Bild und Wort*, 162-163) for currency of additional texts in the West can apply to the East as well.

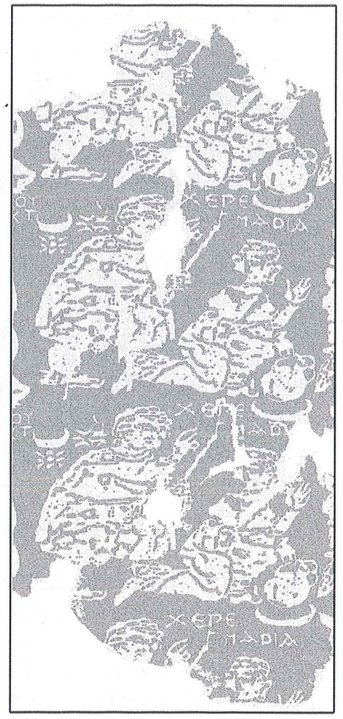
[23] In a delightfully appreciative but cautious summary of scholarship on initiations: H.S. VERSNEL, 'What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander: Myth and Ritual, Old and New', *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed. L. EDMUNDS (Baltimore, c1990), 46-47.

[24] Representations of angels as ordinary messengers, wingless and short-robed, seem to disappear after the Fourth Century (KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 188), but the comparisons are mainly on Western sarcophagi, so they may not provide firm evidence for the East.

[25] The gesture may indicate blessing or greeting. We have no documentary evidence for the precise significance of these gestures at this period, and the places where they appear create some ambiguity. The

In the canonical Gospels, only Luke mentions the Annunciation, and he recounts a conversation, ignoring its circumstances (1: 26-38). The author of the Protevangelium develops the story into two stages (11.1-3): Mary was at home spinning, "And she took the pitcher and went forth to draw water — and behold, a voice said: "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women".[26] She looked around in surprise, saw no one, went in her house, put down the jar, returned to her spinning, "And behold, an angel of the Lord (suddenly) stood before her", and the rest of the conversation took place.

These two stages probably originated in an effort to reconcile two different oral traditions.[27] The author turns them into a story that shows how surprised Mary was, and how well-behaved, leaving quickly when a male voice accosted her, but those are literary effects that do not translate into art. Artists tend to choose one moment or the other: Mary spinning, or, less frequently, getting water.[28] In the pictures where she is getting water, as here,



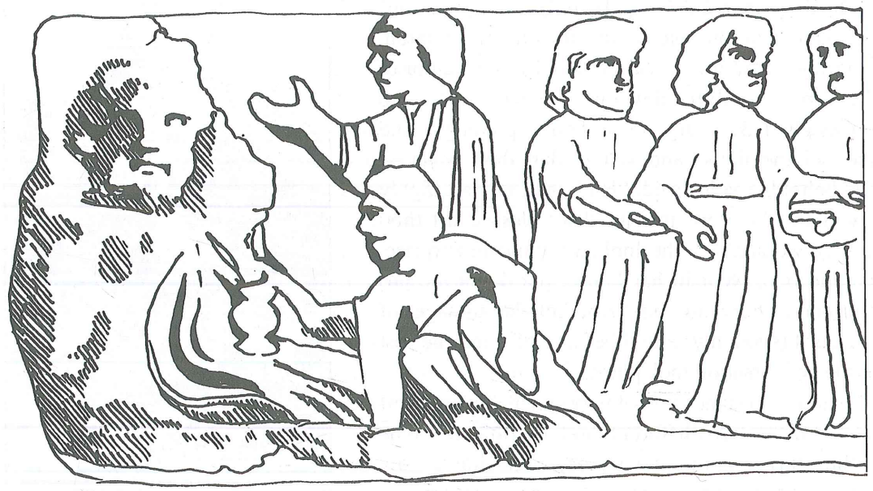
6. Annunciation on the Mary Silk.

spelling of the greeting occurs in other examples, e.g., the Monza medallion discussed below, and a gold kolpion (JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 282, D.a.2).

[26] Here and throughout I am using WILSON's translation and numbering, op. cit. note 21. The word κάλπις, however, does not necessarily mean pitcher: HOCK translates it as 'jar' (op. cit. note 21, XI, 10).

[27] A. MEYER tried to reconstruct the outlines of two separate narratives, each including one Annunciation, that the author of the *Protevangelium* had combined: *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ed. E. HENNECKE (Tübingen, 1904) 51.

[28] C. DAVIS-WEYER – J.J. EMERICK, 'The Early Sixth-Century Frescoes at S. Martino ai Monti in Rome', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1984), 45-48, figs. 10-12, think three early works show both phases: two Sixth Century frescoes in S. Martino ai Monti in Rome (JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, B.a.3) and the Milan and Werden ivories, see below. The scenes are fragmentary or ambiguous, but certainly do not follow a known text closely, and do not contrast exterior with interior settings, or water getting with spinning. A much later example refers to both activities: the angel gestures to a spinning virgin who has left her pitcher at a nearby well: T. MATHEWS, 'The Annunciation at the Well: A Metaphor of Armenian Monophysitism', *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, CA, 1984), 343-356. In later Byzantine painting, the Annunciation at the Well becomes part of the Feasts cycle, while the Annunciation at the Spring appears in the cycle of the Virgin's life: J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, 'Iconography of the Cycle of the Life of the Virgin', *The Kariye Djami* IV, ed. P. UNDERWOOD (Princeton, 1975), 188-190.



7. Scene from the Lid of the Adelfia Sarcophagus.

the angel appears to her, and their interaction is completed.

If we accept a dating around 400, this silk is the first unquestionable representation of the Annunciation. There are three earlier scenes that may possibly show Annunciations, and one of them certainly shows a spring. In the following century, after the Council of Ephesos had confirmed Mary's role as the *Theotokos*, Annunciation scenes multiply.[29] One or two Fifth Century ivories show the Annunciation at the Spring, while a textile, a mosaic, and a sarcophagus show the Spinning. Most of the other representations during the first Christian Millennium show the latter activity.[30]

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29 I. KALEVREZOU points out that this title was not, at first, equivalent to Mother of God: 'Image of the Mother', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 160. It did not change the pivotal status that the Annunciation had assumed when early theologians emphasized that Mary's decisive contribution to the work of salvation occurred when she accepted the message of the angel, thus reversing the disobedience of Eve (Justin Martyr [died c. 156] *Dial.* 100. 5; Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 3. 22. 4; Tertullian *De Carne Christi* 17). Maternal scenes developed slowly. See also V.M. LIMBERIS, 'Identity and Images of the Theotokos in the Akathistos Hymn' (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987), 141, 145.

30 The most complete list is in JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*: Annunciation at the Spring: first Adelfia, which is questionable, then Werden, Milan book cover, Mary silk, Monza medallion, all discussed below. Annunciation to Spinner, earliest examples: Pignatta sarcophagus (24-25, A.b.43), Santa Maria Maggiore (30-31, B.a.2), Egyptian textile (42, D.b.1), Pyxides (45, 47, B.c.12, 15, 17), book cover in Paris (49), many more (54, 58, 62, passim). JASTRZĘBOWSKA (118) rejects the two catacomb paintings because of their lack of clarity. They do not relate to any later versions of the scene: Catacomb of Priscilla: *DACL*, I, 2 sv 'Annonciation dans l'Art', cols. 2255-2256, fig. 761; Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus: J.G. DECKERS et al., *Die Katakombe 'Santi Marcellino e Pietro': Repertorium der Malereien* (Munster and Vatican City, 1987) I, 224; II, pl. 7,1.

8. Annunciation on the Werden Ivory.

The main comparisons for this textile are: (1) the Fourth Century lid of the Adelfia sarcophagus, a strange scene, not certainly identified;[31] (2) the Fifth Century (or possibly Carolingian) Werden ivory,[32] (3) and the Fifth Century ivory bookcover in Milan,[33] all of

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31 JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 117-119, 176-177 (A.b.5) c. 340-50; S.L. AGNELLO, *Il Sarcofago di Adelfia* (Vatican City, 1956), 49-71 reviews identifications, including Moses getting water from the rock, personifications, and the Annunciation. On the date, M. SGARLATA, 'Le Stagioni della rotonda di Adelfia', *Revista di Archeologia Cristiana* 72 (1996), 75-113.

The strongest argument for identifying this scene as an Annunciation is the presence of two more scenes featuring a woman, possibly all forming a cycle of Mary, in which, however, no incident closely follows a known text. The greatest objections to the identification are the action and the head. The action focuses on filling the vessel, rather than on interaction between the male and female figures. The bearded head on the rock fits Exod. 17: 6: 'Behold I will stand there before thee upon the rock Horeb' better than any account of the Annunciation.

32 JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 27, 228 (B.c.3). One of three panels from a casket, Victoria and Albert Museum # 149 to 149b-1866; W.F. VOLBACH, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1976), #118, 83-84 (with bibliography), pl. 62: 2; J. BECKWITH thinks it is a later copy of a Fifth Century original: 'The Werden Casket Reconsidered', *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958), 1-11. DAVIS-WEYER – EMERICK (cit. note 28), 46, note 154, point out that Volbach and others continue to accept the Fifth Century date, as does Jastrzębowska.

33 JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 40, 229 (B.c.4). *DACL* (cit. note 30), cols. 2262-3, fig. 766; VOLBACH (cit. note 32), # 119, 84-85, pl. 63. Delbruek dated the Milan bookcover to the 480s because of similarities with two consular diptyches: R. DELBRUEK, 'Das fünfteilige Diptychon in Mailand', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 150 (1950), 96-107; DAVIS-WEYER – EMERICK (cit. note 28), 57-58, reject a recent challenge to that evidence.

9. Annunciation on the Milan Book cover.

Western manufacture; as well as (4) a terra cotta medallion from the East, now in Monza[34] (figs. 7-10).

The compositions all have similarities to which I will return, but first I want to draw attention to a major difference. The others all show prominent cascades, pouring from a rock. The Mary silk does not show water. The curve in front of Mary presumably indicates a water source, but it is notably abbreviated compared with settings shown in other parts of this textile. The artist, elsewhere so descriptive, has chosen not to show water: what is emphasized instead is the large jar that Mary holds between her knees as she gazes back toward the angel.

It is, as it must be in this scene, a jar with handles, but still its large body and squat neck link it, not with the pitchers shown on the ivories and the medallion, but with the full-bellied jars on amulets. Probably anyone in Egypt looking at this scene would see that jar, held in that position, as the symbol of the womb. Jars appeared repeatedly on one of the most popular groups of magical amulets, those that conjured up successful pregnancies.[35]

[34] JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 62, 256-257 (C.d.1); *DACL* (cit. note 30), cols. 2261-2262, fig. 765; A. GRABAR, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris, 1958), 52, pl. 31; A. MERATI, *Il tesoro del Duomo di Monza* (Monza, 1963), 10-11, fig. 7. Sixth to Eighth Century. In *DACL*, H. LECLERQ mentions a second medallion in which the Virgin stands on grass (gazon, col. 2262). This may be the reason why some scholars mention two medallions showing the Annunciation at the Spring.

[35] A.A. BARB, 'Diva Matrix', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953), 193-238; C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950); R. KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets* (Opladen 1994); H. PHILIPP, *Mira et Magica* (Mainz am Rhein 1986); D. WORTMANN, 'Neue magische Gemmen', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 175 (1975), 63-82; E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL, *Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln* (Opladen, 1993). David Jordan thinks that the association of jar and womb would have been so widespread and obvious at this time that no particular source, such as the amulets, needs to have inspired it (personal communication, September 1997). At the Leiden symposium, Dr. M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel commented that in late demotic Egyptian the word for pot was used to mean womb.

Unlike many amulets, these uterine pieces are of uniformly high quality, indicating their importance.

The womb was recognized as a powerful force, housed within a woman but somewhat independent of her.[36] Praise of Mary always goes on to praise of her womb. On the amulets the jar is usually shown locked, to hold the pregnancy.[37] On the silk, the jar is about to be filled, the pregnancy about to begin.

10. Annunciation on the Monza Medallion.

The crescent moon and stars also appear frequently on all sorts of amulets, including those that invoke the archangels Michael or Gabriel, familiar figures in Egyptian magic.[38] I am not suggesting that the designer of this textile wants to do magic, but rather that these similarities involve one of the transactions often implied by the term "syncretism", i.e., the use of familiar motifs to lend potency to a highly unfamiliar interaction. I doubt if that purpose underlies any of the other resemblances we can find. It certainly does not underlie the most prominent borrowing in this scene, the composition.

In the composition shared by most of these representations the angel steps forward behind Mary, extending his right hand upward toward her. She kneels with her farther knee advanced, holding a vessel forward with one hand and raising the other, while looking back over her shoulder. The exception is the scene on the Adelfia sarcophagus lid. That may represent Moses producing water for the children of Israel (Exod. 17:1-7). If it is an Annunciation, the carver has taken Moses scenes as his model, which later the artists will

[36] Popular belief is discussed by J.-J. AUBERT, 'Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 30 (1989), 421-449. Gnostic speculation gave the womb great and malevolent power not associated with the jar-image and probably not relevant here except as indicating the independent importance assigned to this organ.

[37] On use of the amulets to preserve pregnancy see A.A. BARB, 'Seth or Anubis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (1959), 368-369; also G. VIKAN, 'Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984), 80-81.

[38] The amulets invoking Gabriel and/or Michael show figures with Egyptianizing traits, but these figures do not necessarily represent the archangel: PHILIPP, *Mira et Magica* (cit. note 35), 93-94, 96-97.

11. Herakles and Auge on the Sarrin Mosaic.

replace with a different model discussed below. However it is identified, the Adelfia carving demonstrates the importance of cascading water, linked with Paul's interpretation of Moses' miracle (1 Cor. 10:4), and so notably absent on the Mary silk.

The source of the other compositions becomes clear when we look at that Sarrin mosaic that Janine Balty mentioned in connection with the Dionysiac hanging from Akhmim. The dominant theme of the mosaic, running along the top of the drawing, is Dionysiac initiation, but on the sides several erotic groups appear. They underscore the motif of Ariadne and Dionysos, all together forming what Balty has called "un hymne à la fécondité conçue comme garante de l'eternité".[39] The panel at the upper left shows Herakles with Auge. Auge kneels at a spring, and presses her garment fearfully to her body as she turns back toward Herakles, who will rape her (fig. 11). The presently accepted datings put the mosaic about a century and a half after the textile, but the composition had occurred earlier. A more complex version had appeared in four Pompeian paintings (the best, although now in poor condition, is in the House of the Vettii, fig. 12), probably originating in a famous Greek prototype that ultimately led to the design at Sarrin and served as a model, or really an anti-model if one can say that, for the Virgin at the Spring.[40]

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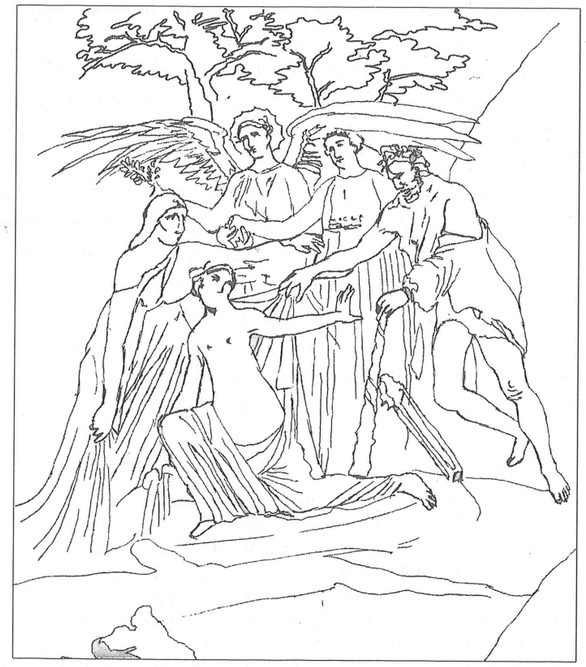
[39] J. BALTY, "Problématique de la mosaïque antique au Proche-Orient", *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient* (Paris, 1995), 42.

[40] All illustrated by S. REINACH, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1922), pl. 188, 2, 3, 4, 5. The picture from the House of the Vettii and a fragment from the House of Hercules and Auge illustrated by E. SIMON, 'Zum Fries der Mysterienvilla bei Pompeii', *JdI* 76 (1961), figs. 22, 23. All four listed, the same two illustrated in *LIMC* III.1, 47; III.2 pl. 48 (BAUCHHENSS-THURIEDL). They may reflect a Fourth Century Greek original, possibly the painting at Tegea mentioned by Pausanias (8,47,2), but cf. V. SCHERF, 'Flugelwesen in römisch-kampanische Wandbildern' (Ph.D. diss., Hamburg, 1967), 63. Reappearance of a related composition centuries later in the East supports the idea of a Greek prototype. The relevant parts of the Telephos frieze on the Great Altar at Pergamon are incomplete, but do not seem to fit into this compositional tradition: Huberta Heres in R. DREYFUS – E. SCHRAUDOLPH, *Pergamon: the Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar* (San Francisco, c1996), 84 and foldout; *LIMC* III 1, 46-47, 51.

In the prevailing climate of Christian vituperation against the licentiousness of gods and heroes, this borrowing can hardly be "syncretism" in the sense just suggested for the jar and the stars, the sense of borrowing a motif because of the positive associations it holds. This example rather involves borrowing a motif to oppose its original associations. The Sarrin picture could almost be inspired by Clement of Alexandria's comments about Herakles, condemning him for adultery, drunkenness, and gluttony (*Protr.* 2. 7).[41] The Christian scene is made more acceptable not by taking on qualities of the older myth, but by contrasting with them.



12. Herakles and Auge in the House of the Vettii.

The story of Auge provides clear grounds for comparison. Auge's father sent her to live in the Temple of Athena to preserve her chastity. She went out to a spring to wash Athena's robe, and was surprised by Herakles. He was drunk at the time: Greeks may already have

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[41] Later Christian authors admired Hercules but, even so, in the Sixth Century Fulgentius said he showed how 'lust can conquer even virtue', *Mythologiae* 2.4, cited by L. NEES, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, c1991), 31. Nees argues that Carolingian artists could depict Hercules as a warning rather than a model. The examples he cites seem to provoke a range of reactions that surely obtained even earlier.

connected Herakles' action with Dionysos. In poetry and particularly in art, Romans stress the connection.[42]

The designer of the picture on the silk obviously tried to create a contrast. The angel is no thug with a club. He approaches respectfully, moon and stars at his back, hand lifted in formal greeting. Mary throws up one hand in surprise, but continues to hold her water jar to be filled. She will conceive and remain untouched.

The designer of this silk did not invent the Auge-Mary comparison. The basic composition recurs in most of the other early depictions, both eastern and western. The Milan book cover, the Werden casket, the medallion, are all later than the silk, but all of them include details missing from it: the water and the rock. All derive from some common source: book illumination seems likely, but that is another issue.[43]

The Mary silk may be the earliest surviving image of the "Virgin at the Spring". It is also the most deviant. Its stress on the pot rather than the water may reflect an Egyptian milieu, in which waterfalls, sacred or otherwise, would be unfamiliar and certainly shows

[42] Her legend seems obscure today, but her son's connection with Pergamon helped to keep it prominent in antiquity. The parts of the story that afford parallels to the life of Mary, that is, the parental decision, the enclosure in the temple, the excursion to the spring, and finally the fateful encounter with a stranger, all seem to have been well established by the Fifth Century B.C., and were often alluded to in both Greek and Roman literature. Connecting Hercules' action with the power of Dionysos may be a late enhancement, but would certainly have been taken for granted by Late Antiquity. The most recent list of sources, *LIMC* III.1 s.v. "Auge" (BAUCHHENSS-THURIEDL), does not give details. Several scholars have assembled and compared the short or fragmentary texts: first C. ROBERT, 'Ercole ed Auge Sopra Pitture Pompeiane', *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 56 (1884): 75-87; J.G. FRAZER, ed. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, IV (1913): 75-76, 432-433, 436-437; J.G. FRAZER, ed., Apollodorus, *The Library* (1921), pp. 253-254, note 2; G.P. OIKONOMOS, 'Ercole ed Auge', *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, 24-26 (1944-46), 133-140, quoting most passages, and finally C. BAUCHHENSS-THURIEDL, *Der Mythos von Telephos in der Antiken Bildkunst* (Würzburg, 1971). The last named appeared just too early to incorporate the discovery of a hypothesis of Euripides. Its very fragmentary text includes a reference to a spring, thereby changing the previous conclusion that the Pompeian paintings showed a version unsupported in existing literature: L. KOENEN, 'Eine Hypothesis zur Auge des Euripides und Tegeatische Plynterien', *ZPE* 4 (1969) 7-18. The reason Auge's father placed her in the temple is preserved only in a probably Fourth Century text, pseudo-Alkidamas 14: F. BLASS, *Antiphontis Orationes et Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1881), 187-188. Her motive for going out to the Spring, unlike that of Mary and other girls such as Rebecca or Polyxena, seems to have been ritual cleansing. Washing is mentioned in the paraphrase, but the idea that Auge is washing the garment of Minerva Alea remains 'una congettura molto probabile' (ROBERT, op. cit. 84, note 99), although Koenen cites parallels. Stobaios mentions Herakles' drunkenness (*Flor.* 18, 20 quoted by OIKONOMOS: 134). The first surviving account linking that drunkenness to the power of Dionysos comes in the first Century A.D. *Silvae* of Statius (3, 1, 40: cf. 4, 6, 52). The Pompeian pictures show Hercules reeling, and later Roman artists create various compositions that show him supported by one or two satyrs as he approaches Auge.

[43] Origins and transmissions of motifs / cycles are among the major issues affected by the discovery of this silk. Some connections of this silk have been briefly considered: KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 191, suggests monumental painting, STAUFFER, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien*, 155-156, considers manuscripts. In another connection, JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 88, rejects a monumental source for a textile cycle.

sensitivity to female experience as reflected in popular practice — the uterine magic. We will see that sensitivity again in what I will call the "exaltation of the wool basket".

I am distinguishing between borrowings that involve shared values and those that explicitly evoke opposing values. I think less important examples of both appear in the earlier scenes.

These scenes incorporate the two dominant themes found in Dionysiac imagery, including the wall hanging: human rejoicing, and the fertility of nature: here dancing and flowering. In both cases, resonances with familiar imagery probably add something to the power of the depiction on the silk.

Mary with the High Priest has been described as running, or kneeling, but the *Protevangelium* says she danced, "And the priest took her and kissed her and blessed her", ". . . the Lord God put grace upon the child" (ἔβαλλε "threw", suggesting sending down, indicated by the dove behind her) "and she danced for joy with her feet" (7.2, 3) and this pose with knees flexed, hands upraised, head turned over shoulder had characterized dancing maenads in numerous Bacchic scenes.[44]

Dancing figures are among the most popular motifs in Coptic textiles, introduced through the circle of Dionysos, but then often appearing in isolation. Probably Bacchic undertones remained, reinforcing the general popularity. For a time, a modified form of dancing even seemed appropriate in Christian ceremony,[45] so Clement of Alexandria could say, two centuries earlier: "We lift our head in the air and raise our hands to heaven, yes, we lift up our feet" (*Str.* 7.7.40), nicely describing Mary's actions here.

In the next scene, the Selection of Joseph, a young (small) man advances holding out a flowering branch toward an older man, identified in writing as Joseph (the young man and the branch can be seen best at the bottom of the fragment, where the axe held by Joseph also appears nearly complete, although Joseph himself is not preserved in that place). This is not what happens in the *Protevangelium*. There, the High Priest collected the staffs of all the assembled widowers, hoping for a sign that would tell him who should become Mary's husband, and as Joseph's staff was returned, "behold, a dove came out of the rod and flew on to Joseph's head" (9.1). Here, instead, the staff has burst into bloom.

[44] JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *Bild und Wort*, 43, objects that the bird, prominent in this picture, plays no part in the Temple story of the *Protevangelium*. A dove does figure in the story of Joseph's Selection, so she argues that this scene may show Mary entrusted to Joseph. The Marriage would appear before the Selection of the husband, but other narratives show scenes out of sequence, e.g. a later textile band in the Metropolitan Museum showing, from right to left, the Manger, the Bath and the Annunciation: STAUFFER et al., *Textiles of Late Antiquity*, 12-13, fig. 8, cat. # 26 p. 45. Changing the identification, however, does not bring this scene closer to the text, and Mary's pose seems unsuited to a wedding. KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 186-87, thinks the dove refers forward to the Selection, and FLURY-LEMBERG, *Textile Conservation and Research*, 367, thinks it illustrates Mary's likeness to a dove (*Protevangelium* 8,1). Most probably, however, the dove is the visible sign of the grace that God sent down to her, causing her to dance.

[45] STAUFFER, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien*, 112-13.

The inspiration for this version is the Old Testament story of the flowering of Aaron's rod (Num. 17:1-10), almost certainly exploited by someone who had heard reference to that rod as a "type", that is an inferior precursor, of the fertility of Mary.[46] In this version of the story, then, viewers would see a flowering fulfilling and surpassing the coded promises of the Old Testament. Vegetation tipped staffs appear in Dionysiac scenes as well, so this occurrence might be seen to fulfill and surpass them too.[47]

Played off against the dancing and the flowering, in these scenes, are thoroughly un-Dionysiac references to work: Joseph's profession is stressed twice, in word and image (the tool he brandishes, mentioned above); and immediately before this image, Mary's work is set up as a blessing.[48] These references of course have no direct Dionysiac parallels, but the last named seems deliberately designed to provide a contrast with Dionysiac practice. Between the first two scenes, between the back of the priest and the back of the young man with the staff, stands a Corinthian column. (Fig. 6 shows the capital as it appears in one place: part of the column shaft and the capital appear on the next level.) The column supports a basket with prominent ball-shaped contents, appearing here outside of any story, as a reference complete in itself. This basket probably contains the materials for Mary's weaving.[49]

[46] Scholars have seen the story of Aaron behind the version in the *Protevangelium*. This picture suggests the possible existence of another apocryphal text borrowing more directly from the Old Testament (see above, note 21). The earliest surviving comparison of Mary to Aaron's flowering rod comes in the Fifth Century: Proclus, *Hom.* 4. 3; cf. *Hom.* 23. 29, see N. CONSTAS, "Four cristological homilies of Proclus of Constantinople" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1994), 202. Earlier associations of Mary with vegetation may have been more general: in the Fourth Century Ephrem of Syria called Mary a fruitful branch: "But Mary, the new shoot, sprouted from Eve, the old vine, and new life dwelt in her": *Homily on our Lord* 3.2, translated by E.G. MATHEWS, JR. – J.P. AMAR, *St. Ephrem the Syrian: Selected Prose Works* (Washington, D.C. 1994). For the influence of such Syrian imagery in the Byzantine world of a slightly later date, see R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (Cambridge, 1975), ch. III. If ideas like those expressed by Ephrem and Proclus were already in the mind of this designer, then extending the flowering branch not only shows the means of selection but also foreshadows its outcome, the entrusting of Mary to Joseph. In one later Byzantine mosaic she will be shown carrying a flowering branch to Joseph: LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *The Kariye Djami* IV, ed. P. UNDERWOOD (Princeton, 1975), 185. The visual comparison became popular, so in later representations of Joseph's Selection, which have little in common with this one, the leafy rod is more common than the dove: op. cit., 184-186.

[47] At the Byzantine Studies Conference in Madison, Eunice Maguire showed me a picture of a Byzantine textile showing a Dionysiac scene very similar in its composition to the encounter of Joseph with the young man here. The comparison, which I hope to consider further, strengthens the argument that the designer of this silk was consciously manipulating Dionysiac parallels.

[48] The references to work need further discussion. It has been noted that in the *Protevangelium* both times when the angel comes to Mary he finds her engaged in manual labor (E. GIANNARELLI, 'Il temo del lavoro nella letteratura cristiana antica', *Spiritualitá del lavoro nella Catechesi dei Padri del III-IV Secolo*, ed. S. FELICI [Rome, 1986], 214). The place of her tasks at opposite ends of the spectrum of women's duties and experience deserves consideration. Some scenes of Joseph at work have been connected with ideas developing in the West: T.R. PITTS, 'The Origin and Meaning of Some Saint Joseph Figures in Early Christian Art' (Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1988). This textile prompts consideration of respect for manual labor in the Christian East: B. VAN DEN HOVEN, *Work in Ancient and Medieval Thought* (Amsterdam, 1996), 139; T. ORLANDI, 'Il lavoro nela primitiva letteratura monastica copta', *Spiritualitá del lavoro nella Catechesi dei Padri del III-IV Secolo*, ed. S. FELICI (Rome, 1986), 151-164; T. SPIDLIK, 'Abbondare nell'Opera di Dio nel pensiero di S. Basilio', ibidem, 95-104.

According to the *Protevangelium*, after Mary returned home from the Temple, she spun thread for the temple veil. The text attaches importance to the fact that the finest materials, purple and scarlet, came to her by lot. The inscription above the basket here is incomplete, but refers to blessing, a term used at this time more for objects than actions.[50] Elevated on a column and under this inscription, the basket invites comparison with the sacred baskets that played a crucial role in Dionysiac mysteries.[51] Comparison not in the sense of suggesting similarity to purchase acceptance, as might possibly be true of the dancing, but comparison that provokes distinction.

In the *Protevangelium*, Mary's spinning comes after she is entrusted to Joseph and proves her continued virginity: that issue is not uppermost in this designer's mind. For contemporary women, learning to spin wool was an essential preparation for marriage. Here it is the precursor of Mary's relationship to Joseph, with its implied promise of her blossoming. Finally, the promise is fulfilled in the Annunciation scene, with the symbolic opening of her womb.

Probably much of this composition was worked out by the person who ordered the textile. Whoever designed it seems to have been knowledgeable, but not particularly theologically oriented; relatively uninterested in proofs of Mary's virginity, but interested in her feminine role. The design makes use of some established iconography, notably for the Annunciation (and the manger scene I skipped over here), but also experiments freely and thoughtfully.

Only in silk could such a detailed narrative be executed on a scale suitable for clothing. Such pieces must always have been rare and valued. Asterius makes it clear that those who commissioned them took pains over the subjects and sources, and that their contemporaries looked with astonished interest at the results. This designer carefully weighed disparate traditions. Viewers must have found both assurance and challenge in the mingling of famil-

[49] KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 187, raises the possibility that the basket contains bread, referring to Mary's nourishment in the Temple. If the basket contained angelic food it would still provoke powerful comparisons between Christian and Dionysiac practice, but probably viewers would not have interpreted it that way. Wool baskets were a far more common visual idiom than bread baskets.

[50] VIKAN, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984), 69-73, especially objects taken from sacred places, as the wool was, not only bread, as mentioned by KÖTZSCHE, 'Die Marienseide in der Abegg-Stiftung', 187. The writing here is notably hard to decipher. Enough letters are clear to confirm the reference to blessing, but not its precise form, which will repay further consideration.

[51] Texts speak of κίσται, e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Prot.* 2.18, but artists usually show baskets: on their use, see R. TURCAN, 'L'élaboration des mystères dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique et romaine: de l'orgiasme à l'initiation', *L'Initiation: Actes du Colloque International de Montpellier 11-14 Avril 1991* (Montpellier, 1992), I: 230.

iar and unfamiliar. Associations would provoke comparisons, and probably arouse a range of reactions.

Asterius is speaking to a Syrian audience, and at present we cannot say that this silk was not made in Syria, although some indicators point toward Egypt and Panopolis. We can be more certain that it was seen, and finally buried, together with the great hanging, in Panopolis. We may approach that burial better remembering the evidence of this piece, and many others, that escaping vehement hostility toward paganism meant a continual juggling of possibilities, not the smooth mixing that sometimes seems to be suggested by the term "syncretism".

This piece represents a highly unstable and creative moment in the confrontation of beliefs. Little of its design enters the mainstream. As soon as Auge is forgotten, the Virgin gets water from a well, much more logical than a spring. The flowering branch and the wool basket become very popular later but in unrelated compositions, newly derived from the same or similar literary sources. Mary's entrance into the temple also becomes very popular, but she never again, so far as I know, gets to dance for joy. Perhaps in the end that really was too Dionysiac.

Addendum: Just before this article went to press, photographs of the Mary Silk finally became available, thanks to the kindness and efficiency of Dr. Sabine Schrenk, Curator of Textiles and Works of Art before 1500 at the Abegg-Stiftung. The photographs are included in plates VI, VII and VIII. Plate VI corresponds to figure 1 in the text, plate VII to figures 3 and 4, and plate VIII to figures 5 and 6.

MICHÈLE MERTENS

ALCHEMY, HERMETISM AND GNOSTICISM AT PANOPOLIS c. 300 A.D.: THE EVIDENCE OF ZOSIMUS

The work of the alchemist Zosimus contains a number of hints that may help us form an idea of the place held by alchemy, hermetism and gnosticism at Panopolis. It has been my purpose to examine such scraps of information after introducing Zosimus himself and situating him in the context of Greek alchemy.

Introduction

Although Zosimus of Panopolis is recognized as one of the most important representatives of Greek alchemy, we know very little about his life and we do not even know exactly when he lived;[1] however, a few data enable us to establish that he must have been active in about 300. According to the larger number of sources, Zosimus was from Panopolis: in alchemical manuscripts, he is regularly referred to as Ζώσιμος ὁ Πανοπολίτης, and the alchemists of later periods simply call him ὁ Πανοπολίτης.[2] Outside alchemical literature, we have the evidence of the Byzantine monk Georgius Syncellus, who calls him a Panopolitan too,[3] whereas, according to Photius, Zosimus was "a Theban from Panopolis".[4] All these witnesses are in complete agreement, but there is a rub: the Byzantine lexicon known as the *Suda* calls him an Alexandrian![5] To reconcile this indication with the rest of the tradition, Fabricius, in the XVIIIth century, suggested that Zosimus, born in Panopolis, had perhaps lived in Alexandria,[6] and this hypothesis was adopted by most historians of alchemy.

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[1] On Zosimus' biography, see M. MERTENS, *Les alchimistes grecs*, IV, i (Paris, 1995), XII-XIX (hereafter M. MERTENS, *AG*).

[2] Two of his treatises have, however, come down to us under the name of Ζώσιμος Θηβαῖος, but in this case, the adjective Θηβαῖος must surely be understood as meaning "inhabitant of the province of Thebaid", the region in which Panopolis is situated, and not in the sense of "inhabitant of Thebes".

[3] See *Chronogr.*, 23, l. 21 Dindorf.

[4] *Bibl.*, codex 170, 117a28-29 Bekker.

[5] S.v. Ζώσιμος [Z 168 Adler].

[6] *Bibliotheca graeca*, VI (Hamburg, 1726), 588: . . .*Alexandrinus, fortasse quoniam Alexandriae vixit.*

However, I believe that, if the writer of the *Suda* had thought that Alexandria was only Zosimus' adopted city, he would have said so, as he writes, for instance, about Aristarchos, that Alexandria was his adopted place but Samothrace, his place of origin.[7] So it seems that the *Suda* considered Zosimus as Alexandria born. The reasons why the *Suda* holds our author for a native of Alexandria will probably never come out. The most probable explanation is that the sources used by the compiler of the *Suda* were incomplete or remained silent on this point. The author of the entry will have considered as most probable that Zosimus was an Alexandrian, being in all likelihood influenced by the high proportion of people coming from that city, a few short of seventy, against four miserable individuals native of Panopolis, a city which is, consequently, not totally unknown in the *Suda*.[8] However that may be, I do not see any serious reason to give one's preference to the evidence of the *Suda* over all the others, or to doubt that Zosimus may have spent at least part of his life in his native city.

As far as Greek alchemy is concerned, our oldest pieces of evidence are two collections on papyrus, one of which is preserved in Stockholm, the other one in Leiden; these two papyri come from the region of Thebes and they seem to date back to about 300 A.D., which means that they are probably contemporaneous with Zosimus;[9] they contain a series of recipes dealing with gold, silver, precious stones and purple.

In addition to these two papyri, the Greek alchemical literature consists of a body of texts transmitted by a large number of medieval manuscripts, a body which is generally referred to as the 'alchemical Corpus' and which includes writings of extremely varied periods ranging from the beginning of this era to the XIIIth century; the chronology of those writings is extremely difficult to establish, for one can do no better than try and disentangle crossed quotations within the Corpus.[10] Three levels are usually distinguished. The first of these includes the *Physika kai mystika* "Natural and mystical things" by a ps.-Democritus, which were probably composed at the beginning of the Christian era and are only very partially preserved. A long series of quotations or of short treatises also belong to that level: they are placed under the names of prestigious authors whether historical or mythical like

[7] S.v. 'Αρίσταρχος [A 3892 Adler]: 'Αλεξανδρεὺς θέσει, τῇ δὲ φύσει Σαμοθράξ. A quick way to solve the problem is to imagine that the *Suda* made no distinction between Egyptian and Alexandrian: see J. LETROUIT, 'La chronologie des alchimistes grecs', in D. KAHN - S. MATTON (eds.), *Alchimie: art, histoire et mythes. Actes du 1er colloque international de la Société d'Étude de l'Histoire de l'Alchimie, Paris, Collège de France, 14-15-16 mars 1991* (Paris - Milan, 1995), 22, n. 48. This hypothesis is however difficult to reconcile with the fact that the *Suda* sometimes makes a very clear distinction between the two terms in the same notice: see s.v. Μακάριος [M 56 Adler], and s.v. Τιμαγένης [T 588 Adler].

[8] The four "lucky" ones are particularly famous personages since they are Horapollon, Nonnos, Cyros and Pamprepios, that is, writers whose biographies stood the best chance of being correctly preserved by the tradition.

[9] These two papyri have been edited and translated by R. HALLEUX, *Les alchimistes grecs*, I (Paris, 1981) (hereafter R. HALLEUX, *AG*).

[10] See J. LETROUIT, 'La chronologie. . .', 11-93.

Hermes, Agathodaimon, Isis, Cleopatra, Mary the Jewess, Moses, Ostanes, and they seem to have been written between the first and the third century. The second level is referred to as the period of "the authors properly speaking", of whom Zosimus of Panopolis is by very far the main representative. He quotes profusely the authors of the first level, he speaks of them with great respect and calls them "the ancients", which shows clearly that he does not belong to the same generation. The third and last level is made up of the exegetes, who enter the scene at the end of the IVth century.[11]

Regarding Zosimus' writings, four groups of works which may be attributed to him with certainty may be distinguished in the jumble of the alchemical corpus; they totalize about a hundred pages and are known as the *Authentic Memoirs*, the *Chapters to Eusebia*, the *Chapters to Theodorus*, and the *Book of Sophe*, which, with the *Final Count*, makes up the last group.[12] What has been preserved of Zosimus' treatises is of very unequal quality. Indeed, if some parts probably reflect the original work, others are only more or less summarized extracts which we owe to Byzantine compilers. Among those four groups of works, the *Authentic Memoirs* are probably the most interesting group at least in the present state of the manuscript tradition. Within the *Authentic Memoirs*, the treatise *On the Letter Omega* deserves pointing out, as well as three pieces known as Zosimus' *Visions*, which acquired some fame owing to the study devoted to them by the renowned psychologist Carl Gustav Jung. The *Final Count* is also worth mentioning. If we compare the manuscripts transmitted from Zosimus with what we know about his work through the allusions of later alchemists or through indirect witnesses, we can assert that what has come down to us corresponds to only a tiny part of what he wrote. As many authors of late antiquity, Zosimus is a beautiful example of literary shipwreck.

Alchemy

The first domain on which Zosimus' work brings interesting evidence is of course alchemy. Coming after the old authors of the first level and before the commentators, Zosimus may be said to have raised this art to its highest degree.

Father Festugière has shown that Graeco-Egyptian alchemy originated from two sources: on the one hand, from the practices of Egyptian goldsmiths and workers in metals, who experimented with alloys and knew how to dye metals in order to simulate gold, and, on the other hand, from the theories of the Greek philosophers, who regarded all substances as being composed of one primitive matter, and as owing their specific differences to the pres-

[11] On the different levels inside the alchemical Corpus, see A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I, *L'astrologie et les sciences occultes* (2nd ed., Paris, 1950), 238-240 (hereafter A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*), and R. HALLEUX, *Les textes alchimiques* (Turnhout, 1979), 60-64.

[12] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, XLVII.

ence of different qualities imposed upon this matter.[13] Alchemy was thus in the first place a technique, then it became a philosophy without ceasing to be a technique.

With Zosimus, under the influence of hermetism and gnosis, alchemy acquires besides a religious dimension. The idea that recollection must enable man to recover the divine spark in him becomes essential.[14] For example, Zosimus, addressing Theosebia in the *Final Count*, gives her the following advice:

> . . . Sit calmly at home, and God, who is everywhere, and not confined in the smallest place like the daemons, will come to you. And, being calm in body, calm also your passions, desire and pleasure and anger and grief and the twelve portions of death.[15] In this way, taking control of yourself, you will summon the divine [to come] to you, and truly it will come, that which is everywhere and nowhere.[16]

Playing on the notion of *pneuma*, which designates the spiritual part of man as opposed to his carnal envelope as well as the volatile part of a substance or of a metal obtained by distillation or sublimation, Zosimus brings out a parallelism between the spiritualisation — dare I say pneumatisation? — of man and the transformation of substances or the transmutation of metals.[17] Accordingly alchemy became a way of life that supposes an inner work.[18] So, following the above extract, Zosimus adds:

> So doing, you will attain the true and natural [tinctures] that are appropriate to certain times. Perform these things until your soul is perfected.[19]

In the *Visions*, the alchemical operations are ritualised in symbolic expressions of torture, death and resurrection; the alchemical utensils become temples and altars, whereas the vile metals are figured as human beings that must be sacrificed before they are resuscitated in the shape of noble metals.

These spiritual preoccupations do not prevent Zosimus from being also concerned with technical questions. Many recipes of his which have come down to us aim, for instance, at producing liquids intended for dying metals. He also wrote about an enigmatic liquid called

[13] A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 218-219; cf. R. HALLEUX, *Les textes . . .*, 62-63.

[14] Cf. A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 361.

[15] Cf. *CH*, XIII, 7 (see A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 280, n. 4) and M. TARDIEU, *Trois mythes gnostiques. Adam, Éros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II,5)* (Paris, 1974), 309.

[16] Zosimus, *Final Count*, § 8. I give here the English translation of G. FOWDEN, *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge, 1986), 122 (hereafter G. FOWDEN, *EH*). Cf. A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 280. The idea that, to accede to the vision of God, one has to detach oneself from the world and to recollect oneself is also present in hermetism: see *CH*, I, 21; cf. M. MERTENS, *AG*, 76, n. 36.

[17] Cf. R. HALLEUX, 'Alchemy', in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, (3rd ed., Oxford - New York, 1996), 53; C. VIANO, 'Alchimie gréco-alexandrine', in *Dictionnaire critique de l'ésotérisme* (Paris, 1998), 55.

[18] See A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 260-261 and 282.

[19] Transl. G. FOWDEN, *EH*, 122. Cf. A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 280-1.

divine water, which plays a role in the process of transmutation.[20] And above all, Zosimus was interested in alchemical apparatus, as witnessed by several descriptions of alembics and other more or less strange accessories which have come down to us in manuscripts of his works with drawings to illustrate them.[21]

After this brief outline of Zosimus' alchemical preoccupations, I would like to point out that his work also provides some interesting information concerning the practice and the diffusion of alchemy in Panopolis. As I said, Zosimus constantly referred to the writings of the old authors, that is those who belong to the first level of the alchemical corpus and are dated between the Ist and the IIIrd century. The most frequently invoked by Zosimus are the ps.-Democritus, Hermes, Agathodaimon and Mary the Jewess. He refers to them in a way that suggests that he had their works under his eyes. For instance, we find in Zosimus' work a clear allusion to the description of a furnace figuring in Mary,[22] or the quotation of a passage from the ps.-Democritus, a passage which has come down to us by chance, so that we can ascertain that we have to do with a literal quotation.[23] This bears witness to the fact that it was possible, at Panopolis, to procure the writings of the old alchemists.

On the other hand, Zosimus alludes on several occasions to rival schools. Thus, in the *Final Count*, he warns his sister Theosebia against the bad influence of an alchemist whom he calls pseudo-prophet.[24] Elsewhere Zosimus blames his sister for conversing with rival alchemists whom he calls "uninstructed", and he names two of them: a certain Paphnutia,[25] and one Neilos, whose inefficient practice Zosimus mocks;[26] these names are unfortunately unknown elsewhere. In the treatise *On the Letter Omega*, Zosimus attacks violently practitioners who make fun of a work, *On Furnaces*, whose author is probably Mary the Jewess, held in high esteem by Zosimus.[27]

Lastly, we must keep in mind that the alchemical papyri of Leiden and Stockholm, which probably come from Thebes, some 150 kilometers south of Panopolis, seem to be contemporaneous with Zosimus. The purely technical recipes they contain rather call up the alchemy of the older level of the corpus than Zosimus' writings. But those papyri are prob-

[20] On the divine water, see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 163-167, and C. VIANO, 'Gli alchimisti greci e l'«acqua divina»', in F. CALASCIBETTA (ed.), *Atti del VII Convegno Nazionale di Storia e Fondamenti della Chimica* (Acc. naz. delle Scienze detta dei XL, serie V, XXI, II, 2, 1997), 61-70.

[21] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, CXIII-CLXIX.

[22] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, VII, l. 3-4 (ed. M. MERTENS, *AG*).

[23] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 195-197 = M. BERTHELOT - C.E. RUELLE, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (3 vols, Paris, 1888), II, 53, l. 14-15 (hereafter *CAG*).

[24] See A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 279-280, n. 6. "Prophet" is a title which the alchemists liked to call themselves: see M. MERTENS, 'Pourquoi Isis est-elle appelée προφῆτις?', *CdÉ* 64 (1989), 260-266.

[25] *CAG*, II, 190, l. 11 and 191, l. 16.

[26] *CAG*, II, 191, l. 8 and l. 17.

[27] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 13-16.

ably copies of older originals, which bears witness to the interest raised in those days by the old alchemical writings.[28]

These various hints suggest that Zosimus was probably not the only one to practise alchemy in Panopolis or the neighbourhood.

How about alchemy in Panopolis after Zosimus' time? None of the later Greek alchemists whose works have come down to us with the alchemical corpus seems to have exerted his art in this city, so that it is difficult to say to what extent the alchemical tradition continued. Be it as it may, in about 900 A.D. we find at Achmîm a certain 'Uthmaan Ibn Suwaid, who is said to have been a master in the art of alchemy.[29]

Hermetism and Gnosticism

Let us now deal with hermetism[30] and gnosticism.[31] In these respects, Zosimus' most revealing writing is the treatise *On the Letter Omega*,[32] whose subject is worth summarizing. It seems that Zosimus' books — or, at any rate, some of them — were denoted by the letters of the alphabet, and the treatise entitled *On the Letter Omega* probably made up the prefatory chapter of *Book Omega*. After a few introductory lines in which Zosimus speculates on the symbolic value of the letter omega, he attacks the alchemists who scorn the book *On Furnaces* and prefer, to succeed in their tinctures, to rely on the observance of propitious times depending on the good will of astral demons. Those people, Zosimus says, are completely subjected to the influence of Fate and only interested in material goods. Zosimus calls them "without intellect", unworthy to be admitted near God and the philosophers.[33] Zosimus rejects the method of his opponents not because he finds it inefficient — indeed he recognizes that it sometimes works — but because it relies on astral demons which are powers in the service of Fate. According to Zosimus' world vision, the philosophers' ideal should be to free themselves from Fate. Zosimus contemplates two methods that might be used to reach that goal. The first one, attributed to Zoroaster, is founded on

[28] See R. HALLEUX, *AG*, 22-30. R. Halleux suggests that these papyri may have been copied after one or several models which escaped the *auto-dafé* of alchemical texts ordered by Diocletian in 296.

[29] On this author, see J.W. FÜCK, 'The Arabic literature on alchemy according to an-Nadim (A.D. 987)', *Ambix* 4 (1951), 106-107, M. PLESSNER, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 130, and A. MARTIN - O. PRIMAVESI, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg* (Berlin - New York, 1999), 50.

[30] As I have already noted above, Zosimus made frequent references to alchemical writings attributed to Hermes. I will here try to show that Zosimus was also influenced by the kind of hermetism called by Father Festugière "philosophical hermetism" in opposition to "popular hermetism".

[31] On the connections between gnosticism and alchemy, see already H.J. SHEPPARD, 'Gnosticism and alchemy', *Ambix* 6 (1957), 86-101.

[32] It is the first treatise of the *Authentic Memoirs*; cf. M. MERTENS, *AG*, 1-10 (text) and 51-119 (notes).

[33] Cf. M. MERTENS, *AG*, 68-69, n. 26.

the knowledge of magic formulas. The second, which would be Hermes' and which is Zosimus' favourite one, calls on the faculties of the intellect and consists in searching for self-knowledge (we come back to the idea of recollection which appeared in the *Final Count*); this is how one can benefit from the Son of God's help and go back to the realm of bliss. Zosimus then invokes the authority of a certain Bitos, who would have written a pinax, that of the "three times great" Plato and that of the "ten thousand times great" Hermes. Next, in order to illustrate the baleful influence of Fate and the efforts that must be made to escape from its grasp, Zosimus engages in a long development on the myth of primordial man. It seems that, for this part of his treatise, Zosimus may have drawn his inspiration from a certain Nikotheos, to whom I will come back hereafter. According to that myth, primordial man is composed of a corporeal part, named Adam, and of a spiritual part, named Phôs (with a play on φώς "human being" and φῶς "light"). Phôs became embodied here below as the result of a trick of the agents of Fate, who convinced him to dress with a material body, of which he was to find himself a prisoner. But thanks to Jesus Christ's help, he will be able to get rid of his corporeal envelope, oppose the baleful influence of the counterfeit demon (ὁ ἀντίμιμος δαίμων) and go back to the realm of bliss he came from. Zosimus then comes back to his real subject, the apparatuses and the furnaces, which appear as a means to achieve the alchemical tinctures without the help of astral demons, and consequently as a means to liberate oneself from Fate.[34]

This text obviously swarms with hermetical and gnostical ideas, sometimes amalgamated. As far as hermetism is concerned,[35] Zosimus invokes repeatedly the authority of Hermes, whom he classifies among the philosophers[36] and qualifies as "ten thousand times great" (μυριόμεγας), which testifies his admiration for him.[37] Bitos and Plato, whom Zosimus cites in Hermes' company, are connected with the hermetic milieu: Bitos must probably be identified with the Bitys twice mentioned by Jamblicus in his *Mysteries of Egypt,* where he appears as an interpreter of the hermetic books.[38] As for Plato, he seems to have enjoyed some prestige among the hermetists and the gnostics.[39] On the other hand, Zosimus refers to a writing of Hermes' entitled *On the Inner Life*,[40] which seems to be lost, and to another one entitled *On Natures*, which has not been preserved under that name. But

[34] Cf. M. MERTENS, *AG*, 66-67, n. 17.

[35] On Zosimus' hermetism, see A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 263, and particularly G. FOWDEN, *EH*, 90-91; 122-125.

[36] "Philosophers" here has its habitual meaning; it does not take the meaning "alchemists" as it sometimes does: cf. G. FOWDEN, *EH*, 124, n. 33.

[37] Cf. M. MERTENS, *A G*, 85-86, n. 48. Other hints showing how much Zosimus admired Hermes: he attributed to him the translation in Greek or in Egyptian of some texts written in Hebrew (*Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 85-86); later in his work, giving his sources, Zosimus makes reference to the "Holy books of Hermes" (*Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 147-148).

[38] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 83-85, n. 46; cf. G. FOWDEN, *EH*, 150-153.

[39] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 85, n. 47.

[40] Or *On Immateriality*? See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 73-74, n. 34.

the connections between Zosimus' text and the fourth treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which is usually known under the title *The mixing-bowl*, are so striking that one can reasonably think that this is the hermetical treatise to which Zosimus alludes.[41]

This is not all. The passage from the *Final Count* which I cited above, goes on like this:

> When you realize that you have been perfected, and have found the natural [tinctures], spit on matter and, hastening towards Poimenandres [sic] and receiving baptism in the mixing-bowl, hasten up towards your own race.[42]

Poimenandres, in spite of the corruption, is a clear reference to *Poimandres*, the first treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, whereas the mixing-bowl evokes the fourth treatise of the same Corpus. These allusions are evidence that Zosimus had access to the *Corpus Hermeticum*, or at least, to some treatises, which, consequently must have been available in Panopolis.[43]

On the other hand, a number of views can be found at the same time in Zosimus, in hermetism and in gnosticism. For example:

- the idea that the human being is composed of a corporeal envelope and a spiritual part, the intellect, sometimes called "inner man";[44]
- the idea that the intellect is the divine part of the human being and that this is what enables it after death to escape from here below, the world governed by Fate, to rise up to the realm of bliss, where God dwells;[45]
- the idea that to have access to the vision of God, one must turn one's back on the world and recollect;[46]
- the idea that Fate is connected with demons and subject to times;[47]
- the idea that the body is a kind of clothing which one puts on;[48]

[41] Cf. M. MERTENS, *AG*, 67-68, n. 23. For G. FOWDEN (*EH*, 124), *On natures* is an alternative title for *The mixing-bowl*; cf. B. COPENHAVER, *Hermetica* (Cambridge, 1992), 136-137.

[42] Zosimus, *Final Count*, § 8. English translation by G. FOWDEN, *EH*, 122-123. Cf. A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *RHT*, I, 281.

[43] Hermes Trismegistus seems to have enjoyed some prestige in Panopolis: his name is found in a dedication from the IIIrd cent. A.D. (*SB* V, 8917).

[44] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 87-103: cf. *CH*, I, 15 and XIII, 7 ; see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 94, n. 61.

[45] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 64-67: cf. *CH*, XII, 1 and 9, and H.-C. PUECH, *En quête de la Gnose* (2 vols, Paris, 1978), I, 260; see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 68-69, n. 26. On the idea that Intellect prevails over Destiny, see also A.J. FESTUGIÈRE - D. NOCK, *Hermès Trismégiste* (4 vols, Paris, 1945-1954), I, 186, n. 25; 193-195, and II, 372-373.

[46] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 61-64: cf. *CH*, I, 21 and H.-C. PUECH, *En quête. . .*, I, 259; see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 76, n. 36.

[47] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 18-19: cf. *CH*, XVI, 16; I, 9 and *Nag Hammadi Codices* (hereafter *NHC*) II,1 (= *Apocryphon of John*), 28, l. 11-33 = J.M. ROBINSON, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977), 114 (hereafter J.M. ROBINSON, *NHLE*); see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 66, n. 14.

[48] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 106: cf. *CH*, VII, 2-3 and *NHC* II,1, 21, l. 11 = J.M. ROBINSON, *NHLE*, 110; see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 98, n. 70.

- the idea that the corporeal part of the human being is composed of the four elements: fire, earth, water and air;[49]
- the idea that the soul confined in the body undergoes bondage.[50]

These last four ideas can be found both in hermetical writings and in a gnostic work known as the *Apocryphon of John*.

Such a community of ideas between hermetism and gnosticism need not surprise us if we keep in mind that the Nag Hammadi library includes not only gnostic writings, but also hermetical texts.[51]

Lastly, the treatise *On the Letter Omega* contains a number of notions or references which seem to be more properly gnostic:

- In a general way, we may say that Zosimus, who shrinks from contact with the powers considered as the agents of Fate, has a gnostic world-view.[52]
- The alchemists he attacks and whose methods he criticizes are described as deprived of intellect, completely subjected to Fate and unworthy to be admitted near God. In gnostic terms, these people are "material", that is exclusively constituted of corporeal elements doomed to destruction, by opposition to the class of the "spiritual", who will be saved. Such a distinction reflects Zosimus' gnostic conceptions.
- Another point is that Zosimus refers to a certain Nikotheos. We have not preserved any writing of that Nikotheos, but he is known from other sources. He is cited by Porphyry in his *Plotinus' Life* in the company of Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Allogenes and Messos. They are all mentioned as the authors of *Revelations* whose authority was invoked by Plotinus' opponents. The names of Zoroaster, Zostrianos, Allogenes and Messos appear in the Nag Hammadi codices. As for Nikotheos, he appears in a Coptic gnostic work known as "the anonymous writing of the Bruce Codex". It seems fairly certain that he belonged to the gnostic milieu.[53]
- The story of primordial man was probably borrowed by Zosimus from Nikotheos: Zosimus tells how Phôs, the prototype of everyman's intellect, was attracted by the powers in the service of Fate into a material body that imprisons him. This is a myth of gnostic inspiration intended to account for the duality of the human being. This narration presents with the *Apocryphon of John*, preserved in the Nag Hammadi Library, such striking analogies that Jean Doresse went so far as to suppose that Nikotheos' lost *Revelation* may be the source of the *Apocryphon of John*.[54]
- At the very beginning of the treatise *On the Letter Omega*, Zosimus disserts on the symbolic value of omega and relates this letter with the planet Saturn. Such an association between the

[49] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 107: cf. *Asclepius*, 7; 10 and *NHC* II,1, 20, l. 35 - 21, l. 2 = J.M. ROBINSON, *NHLE*, 110; see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 98, n. 70.

[50] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 108-109: cf. *CH*, I, 15; XIII, 7 and *NHC* II,1, 31, l. 4 = J.M. ROBINSON, *NHLE*, 115; see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 98-99, n. 72.

[51] *NHC* VI, 6, 7 et 8. See J.-P. MAHÉ, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte* (2 vols, Quebec, 1978-1982), I, 26-28.

[52] On Zosimus' gnosticism, see particularly the recent and excellent article of D. STOLZENBERG, 'Unpropitious Tinctures: Alchemy, Astrology and Gnosis according to Zosimos of Panopolis', in *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 142 (juin 1999), 17-31. See also J. DORESSE, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte* (Paris, 1958), 105-107.

[53] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 55-57, n. 4.

[54] See J. DORESSE, *Les livres secrets . . .*, 285; cf. M. MERTENS, *AG*, 96-99 (n. 65, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74), and 104-105 (n. 89).

seven vowels of the Greek alphabet and the seven planets seems to have been current among gnostics, for it can be found in a passage by s. Irenaeus quoting the gnostic Marcos.[55]

- I wrote that Zosimus mentioned the method advocated by Zoroaster to free oneself from Fate, a method that resorts to the knowledge of magic formulas. This is surely a reference to the practices of some gnostic sects which believed that, to get back to their celestial dwelling, the souls must pass through the spheres of the planets kept by the archons and that, in order to coax these, it was necessary to know a whole series of passwords.[56] Moreover, Zoroaster seems to have played a fairly important role among the gnostics:[57] indeed, his name appears in the writings of Nag Hammadi.
- When Zosimus evokes the rescue, towards the realm of bliss, of the luminous scrap that is in every man, he makes the Son of God intervene, calling him Jesus Christ a little further.[58] Some editors have wanted to see in that reference to Christ a late interpolation. But the most likely hypothesis is that Zosimus was influenced by a Christian gnosis. The figure of Jesus occupies a prominent place in many gnostic writings, and it is not surprising that he should be mentioned by Zosimus.[59]
- Zosimus presents Jesus as one who did not really suffer, which reflects a docetic conception of Christ's Passion: for Docetists (from Greek δοκέω 'appear', 'seem'), Christ's sufferings and Passion were only apparent. Such a conception of the Saviour can be found, for example, in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which is preserved in the Nag Hammadi Library.[60]
- According to Zosimus, Jesus-Christ's method consists in tearing out the luminous spirits from the body, the matter in which they are ensnared, in order to bring them back to their celestial homeland; such is also the part played by Jesus in *The Sophia of Jesus Christ*, which is also preserved in the Nag Hammadi Library: Jesus comes down from the celestial realm to release the drop of light and allow it to go up again to his Father.[61]
- Still according to Zosimus, once the luminous spirit has got rid of its corporeal envelope, it still has to cope with the assaults of the counterfeit demon (ἀντίμιμος δαίμων), who tries to lead it astray. Zosimus was certainly inspired with that counterfeit demon by the counterfeit spirit (ἀντίμιμον πνεῦμα) of gnostic literature, a secondary spirit fitted by the archons in the body of man to fight there the luminous spirit and oppose man's impulses towards salvation, which corresponds exactly to the role of Zosimus' counterfeit demon.[62]

These are the most important points of similarity between Zosimus and gnostic texts.[63]

[55] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 54, n. 2. In much the same spirit, Zosimus makes, by acronymy, a link between the letter omega and the ocean (ὠκεανός) as it is cited in a Homeric verse. It is possible that this reference to the ocean occurred to Zosimus because of the mystic speculations which, according to Hippolytos, the Naassene Gnostics made on this Homeric excerpt (see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 57, n. 5) or because the primordial water was identified with the character of Kronos / Saturn in the cosmogony of the Gnostic Peratae (see M. TARDIEU, *Trois mythes* . . ., 58-59, n. 57).

[56] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 72-73, n. 33.

[57] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 3, n. 27; cf. M. TARDIEU, 'Nag Hammadi dans l'histoire de la philosophie', *Dossiers d'archéologie* 236 (sept. 1998), 21-22.

[58] Zosimus, *Auth. Mem.*, I, l. 65 and 121. See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 79, n. 37.

[59] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 101-102, n. 80.

[60] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 102, n. 82.

[61] See M. MERTENS, *ibidem*.

[62] See M. MERTENS, *AG*, 104-106, n. 89.

[63] There are other possible parallels between *On the Letter Omega* and gnosticism: a secret name beside the common name (see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 55, n. 3 and 95, n. 63); "those who have intelligent ears" is an expression found in the gnostic literature (see M. MERTENS, *AG*, 112-113, n. 97). For an analysis of the gnostic features in Zosimus' *Final Count*, see D. STOLZENBERG, 'Unpropitious . . .', 22-29.

However, the question of how Zosimus came into contact with hermetism and gnosticism remains open: should we assume that there existed in Panopolis or in the neighbourhood hermetic or gnostic, or hermetico-gnostic communities where Zosimus could have become imbued with these ideas which he so well integrated into his writings?[64] It is very likely, but in the texts that have come down to us from Zosimus, there is not a scrap of evidence allowing us to claim that he frequented this kind of circles. All we can say in the present state of our knowledge is that Zosimus seems to have had the hermetical and gnostic texts at his disposal, in the same way as he must have read the writings of the old alchemists.[65]

I hope to have shown the multiplicity of the scientific, philosophical and religious currents which left their mark on Zosimus. The wealth of this diversity bears witness to the intellectual expansion which characterized Panopolis at the turn of the IIIrd and IVth centuries of this era.

[64] On the existence of such communities, see J.-P. MAHÉ, *Hermès* . . ., I, 54-59.

[65] Let us keep in mind that the texts of the *Corpus Hermeticum* have most probably been composed during the IInd - IIIrd centuries A.D. (see A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, 'L'hermétisme', in A.J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne* [Paris, 1967], 30); the texts transmitted in the Nag Hammadi codices have probably been composed in Greek at about the same time, and translated into Coptic thereafter (see J.-D. DUBOIS, 'La découverte gnostique de Nag Hammadi', *Dossiers d'archéologie*, 236 [sept. 1998], 9; A. PASQUIER, 'Les manuscrits de Nag Hammadi', *Dossiers d'archéologie* 236 [sept. 1998], 13).

PETER VAN MINNEN

THE LETTER (AND OTHER PAPERS) OF AMMON: PANOPOLIS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.[1]

Introduction

When I was asked to contribute a paper to the Panopolis conference, I instantly knew what I wanted to talk about. Two years earlier I had catalogued the papyri from Panopolis at Duke University, and most of them remained unpublished. I thought it would be interesting to present the new data that can be extracted from these papyri to scholars otherwise interested in Panopolis. The texts all belong to a single archive, that of Ammon, a fourth-century *scholastikos*, a kind of lawyer associated with the Roman provincial government in Upper Egypt.[2] The existence of this archive had long been known. At the papyrological congress of 1974 two American scholars, Browne and Willis, presented texts from the archive independently from each other. Willis presented texts from Duke University, which remain unpublished, Browne one from the University of Cologne, which was published shortly after.[3] Both collections turned out to hold substantial parts of the same find, and Browne and Willis decided to collaborate on a joint publication of these texts.

When the archive was found and sold, it was dispersed over various collections. As far as I know, besides Duke and Cologne, the Papyrological Institute at Florence also acquired a substantial amount of texts belonging to the archive.[4] The Duke texts I know from personal inspection, the Cologne texts to some extent too. Those of 348 relating to a dispute had all been transferred to Duke, so that they could be studied together at one place. The original team in charge of the publication soon got dispersed too. Browne became a specialist in Old Nubian, Koenen left Cologne. The Duke team consisting of Willis and Oates was

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[1] Research for this contribution was made possible by a grant from the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

[2] On the functions of *scholastikoi* see A. CLAUS, 'Ο σχολαστικός (diss. Köln, 1965). Other *scholastikoi* from Panopolis left graffiti at Thebes, which they visited 'for Plato's sake'. See *I.Syringes* 1243 (cf. 1266 and 1279) and *I.métriques* 147 (cf. 151).

[3] G.M. BROWNE, 'A Panegyrist from Panopolis', in: *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists* (London, 1975), 29-33, and 'Harpocration Panegyrista', *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 184-196, now *P.Ammon* I 6.

[4] Willis includes some data from these unpublished texts in the introduction to *P.Ammon* I.

reduced to a single person. Five years after the papyrological congress of 1974 only a couple more texts were published by Browne and Willis.[5] Then silence ensued.

In the 80s a renewed effort was made towards publishing these texts. A papyrologist at Cologne, Maresch, joined Willis at Duke and worked for some time on the texts relating to the dispute of 348. When I catalogued the texts at Duke in early 1995, Willis was still working on these texts. After I went through them he submitted the manuscript for publication. Last year the volume had not yet come out, and I thought I could use my advance knowledge of it at the Panopolis conference. In the mean time the volume came out under the title *The Archive of Ammon Scholasticus of Panopolis*, Volume 1.[6] I was at a loss what to do. Should I forget about the dispute of 348 and concentrate on as yet unpublished texts? These were no longer available to me in the original, but I had access to them in electronic form. Images of all the papyri at Duke had been put on line by the end of 1995.[7] Closer inspection of the volume by Willis and Maresch, however, soon suggested to me that the published texts still contained so many problems that it would pay off to reconsider them in some detail. Only occasionally I will refer in what follows to as yet unpublished texts. The family of Ammon and its history can be reconstructed to a large extent from the published texts.

Late Roman Panopolis

For later Roman Panopolis we have an unusual documentation. We do not have as many documentary texts as from other Egyptian metropoleis, but we do have a wealth of literature written by Panopolitans in Greek and in Coptic. The documentary texts come in archives, such as that of Ammon, or in dossiers.[8] Some earlier documentary and literary papyrus rolls were later reused to make codices.[9] The famous Bodmer codices may also come from

[5] See W.H. Willis, 'Two Literary Papyri in an Archive from Panopolis', *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978), 140-153, now *P.Ammon* I 1-2. In addition, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 71-73 were published by Browne, *P.Congr.XV* 22, now *P.Ammon* I 3, by Willis.

[6] I refer to it as *P.Ammon* I. A second volume, by K. Maresch, is to contain all the texts from the archive relating to property.

[7] At http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/.

[8] Various dossiers seem to be represented in *P.Panop.*

[9] A codex was constructed out of two early third-century rolls (*CPR* XVII B). A documentary codex, related to *P.Panop.*, was created from two rolls with copies of official correspondence of 298 and 300 (*P.Panop.Beatty*). Various fragments of Greek literature have been retrieved from the cover of a codex. Another codex of the fifth century containing a Greek homily and Coptic biblical texts was constructed out of documentary rolls from ca. 200. The Greek texts can be found in *P.Achmim* and *P.Bouriant*, the Coptic texts in P. Lacau, 'Textes coptes en dialectes akhmimique et sahidique réédités', *BIFAO* 8 (1911), 43-109 at 45-67. For further details see the contribution by R.S. Bagnall.

Panopolis.[10] They stem from an educational context and would provide the best evidence for advanced education at Panopolis,[11] the kind of education that could have provided a breeding ground for its famous poets. The very first Bodmer text published, a text of the Iliad, was written on the back of a land register from Panopolis of 208/9.[12]

The documentary texts allow us to reconstruct the municipal make-up of Panopolis in the fourth century. Apart from temples and a church we find a *komasterion* (a kind of festive hall), a theater, a gymnasium with a bath, a separate bathhouse, another bath in the praetorium, where the provincial governors would reside during a visit, and even a philosophical school, no doubt private rather than public. Panopolis also organized games, the so-called Paneia, which were inaugurated in 264 with reference to Herodotus' absurd claim that already in his day the city organized games in the Greek fashion. Here is a clear case where the antiquarian interests of the local elite were translated into action in the third century. Whether the games survived long into the fourth century may be doubted.

Of the archives and dossiers from fourth-century Panopolis the most obviously 'pagan' is the archive of Ammon, which introduces us to a family of local priests. The official correspondence contained in *P.Panop.Beatty* does not tell us much about the local cults. An imperial *palation* was to be installed in the temple of Triphis on the other side of the Nile. Whether this was going to interfere with the traditional cult in that temple we do not know.[13] Other dossiers from early fourth-century Panopolis occasionally mention local priests. *P.Panop.* contains a reference to a priestess,[14] as does *P.Fouad* 80,[15] and the great house register from the early fourth century (*P.Panop.Bork.*) lists several houses owned by priests in addition to several temples. One church and several deacons are listed as well. The balance between paganism and Christianity in the early fourth century, a period also covered by the archive of Ammon, seems still in favour of the former, at least as far as the ownership of real estate is concerned and perhaps also with regard to personal names.[16] It

[10] They were found further up river. See J.M. Robinson, 'The Manuscript's History and Codicology', in: J.E. Goehring (ed.), *The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection* (Leuven, 1990), xvii-xlvii. It is unlikely that they are the remains of a monastic library.

[11] See J.-L. Fournet, 'Une éthopée de Caïn dans le Codex des Visions de la Fondation Bodmer', *ZPE* 92 (1992), 253-266.

[12] On the literary texts found at Panopolis see A. Martin – O. Primavesi, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, 1998), 43-50. For the land register see the forthcoming publication by T. Derda.

[13] Another emperor, Caracalla, had lived in the Serapeum in Alexandria during his visit. See A. Łukaszewicz, *Antoninus Philosarapis* (Warszawa, 1998), 54.

[14] In a remarkable role: she nominates *ktenarchai*. The case is dealt with in *P.Panop.* 29 (a petition) and 30 (proceedings) of 332. The latter text mentions shows (θέαι) going on at Panopolis at the time.

[15] It concerns a priestess from the temple of Triphis. This and the occurrence of the rare name Diskapollon prove that the text, a carefully written letter from a physician, comes from Panopolis.

[16] Z. Borkowski, 'Local Cults and the Resistance to Christianity', *JJP* 20 (1990), 25-30, offers some dubious statistics on the basis of the 316 instances of 123 personal names included in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 of 298. He notices that more sons (5) are called Petetriphis than fathers (1). Triphiodoros, the Greek equivalent of Petetriphis, is more equally distributed (sons : fathers = 6 : 4) and was therefore more traditional. I think this

may be significant that no bishop from Panopolis attended the council at Nicea, although there were two bishops in the early years of Athanasius.[17] A 'Camp of the Christians' is mentioned in 355 (*P.Dub.* 31). Such a topographical designation may go back to a (much) earlier period and cannot be taken as evidence that Christians in Panopolis were living in a ghetto (an abandoned military camp) in 355. About the middle of the fourth century Shenute's predecessors founded the first ascetic communities across the Nile from Panopolis.

Panopolis has often been taken as a test case for the religious situation in Egypt in late antiquity.[18] Its reputation is based on the intensity of the religious affiliation proclaimed by Panopolitans in the fifth century. I use the word 'proclaimed' advisedly. The famous poets from Panopolis, who have often been taken for pagans, and the vociferous Shenute on the Christian side have often been read as if they were having a conversation. The ethereal verse of Nonnus and the earthy prose of Shenute provided the munition for fierce battles between pagans and Christians at Panopolis. Egypt and the supreme resistance against Christianity, the title of an influential article by Rémondon,[19] means first and foremost Panopolis. The fight over the pagan cult at Panopolis, to use Van der Vliet's phrase,[20] was to the death.

We now know that most of the poets from Panopolis were probably Christians, and since they pursued a career outside their home town, their religious affiliation tells us little about what was going on there. Pamprepius was a pagan, but his corpse was thrown over a rampart in Isauria by his fellow pagans when their conspiracy failed.[21] Theirs was a political struggle, not a struggle for the minds of men. Other pagans from Panopolis include a family

merely shows that there were less qualms about using Egyptian names in the later third century than before, not that there was an increase in *Lokalpatriotismus* that favoured theophoric names featuring one of the local gods. Even in the case of double names that show that the theophoric element was still understood I am not sure that we can use their evidence to write religious history without further ado.

[17] Artemidoros is first attested in 335. A colleague of his, Areios, was confirmed after Athanasius' second exile (see the *Festal Letter* of 347), but is already attested in 343. He asked Pachomius to found a monastery at Panopolis, in any case before 346, the year Pachomius died.

[18] Most recently by H. BEHLMER, 'Staat, Kirche und Gesellschaft im spätantiken Panopolis', in: H. BEHLMER (ed.), . . . *quaerentes scientiam. Festgabe W. Westendorf* (Göttingen, 1994), 13-26.

[19] R. RÉMONDON, 'Égypte et la suprême résistance au christianisme', *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 63-78.

[20] J. VAN DER VLIET, 'Spätantikes Heidentum im Spiegel der koptischen Literatur', *Riggisberger Berichte* 1 (1993), 99-130, the first section of which is headed: 'Der Kampf um den Kult von Panopolis'.

[21] His dark skin impressed Damascius, a foreigner. Probably most Panopolitans were dark-skinned. For Pamprepius and other pagans from Panopolis see P. ATHANASSIADI, *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (Athens, 1999).

of Neo-Platonists, Horapollon Sr.[22] and his descendants,[23] who spent most of their life in Alexandria and abroad, in Athens and Constantinople, where they were part of an international 'contact group', not of a social movement. Horapollon Jr. converted to Christianity, seemingly without a fight.[24] Shenute unmasked a single pagan in Panopolis, Gessios, a big landowner, and the quarrel with him was over social and economic matters. Although we are dealing with a local affair here, Gessios' religious affiliation is of secondary importance. If he had been a Christian, Shenute would probably also have tried to harass him. If it had not been for Gessios, there might not have been another pagan at Panopolis for Shenute to unmask, and even in this case there was no pagan cult left to fight over.[25] Once the cults had been suspended, the public at large had very little idea of what traditional paganism meant.[26]

The construction of a fierce battle between opposing forces or even a religious war is entirely modern. It presupposes massive entities in collision. Now, paganism was quite diverse, and Christianity was quite divisive. Even at a local level, where paganism could rally around a traditional cult and Christianity could rally around a professed orthodoxy, the fronts were never strong enough to collide head-on. In addition to traditional cults there was Greek culture. Traditional cults had been transformed by it in the course of the Roman period, and Greek cultural icons such as Dionysus and Heracles were also used by Christian members of the elite to express their ideas about God and the world.[27] The confrontation between the Greek philosophers from Panopolis and Pachomian monks suggests that they

[22] A grammarian of the first half of the fifth century originally from Phenebythis in the Panopolite nome. The temple of Triphis was actually situated in the toparchy of Phenebythis. Shenute, an older contemporary, likewise originated in a village in the Panopolite nome.

[23] His sons Heraiskos and Asklepiades were vociferous pagans. They were philosophers and Egyptomaniacs. They passed the torch on to their nephew and son, the author of the *Hieroglyphica.* Heraiskos died in or after 487, his brother a little later, but before 491 after his return to Panopolis.

[24] His pagan period is covered by the biography of Severus of Antioch by Zacharias Scholasticus. He was nicknamed Psychapollon by Christians. Many years later Dioskoros of Aphrodites kome copied a document of his (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295 i-ii, dating from ca. 491-493), presumably as an example of the high-flown style Dioskoros himself liked to use in the documents he wrote. Horapollon wrote the petition shortly after his father's death. He accuses his wife, a daughter of his uncle Heraiskos, of the theft of some movables from their house at Phenebythis. These would have belonged to Asklepiades, who had just died, but the family relation makes it clear that the matter may not have been quite as simple as Horapollon makes it out to be. His uncle had foretold his defection to Christianity.

[25] While Gessios is privately performing an unbloody sacrifice in the deserted Triphieion, Shenute unmasks him. D. FRANKFURTER, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 1998), 77-82, completely misinterprets the Gessios affair. In a typical perversion of historical probability he claims that Gessios' paganism was intimately linked with that of most of the peasants. But Gessios acted alone, and what would the peasants — if they were still pagans — have made of his references to Apollonius of Tyana and Plato, the stock-in-trade of the traditional philosophical opposition to Christianity? For more on the Gessios affair see the contribution by S. Emmel.

[26] Cf. A.E. CAMERON, 'The Empress and the Poet', *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982), 217-289 at 269, where he compares the Christian public's idea of paganism in the mid-fifth century with that of the American public's idea of communism in the 50s (and beyond, I may add).

[27] For Dionysus see, e.g., G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1990), 41-53.

saw each other as competitors for the same market.[28] One of the philosophers argued that there was no room for the monks, but they deftly suggested that a bit of competition would keep everybody honest. On the other hand Christian unity was constantly undermined by Christians such as Shenute who protested against the worldliness of other Christians and tried to introduce stricter rules of faith. Shenute derided Gessios' bathhouse and his stinking wine, but what were the Christian notables in Panopolis supposed to do with their bathhouses and their stinking wine? Irrespective of their religious affiliation these notables could ill afford to let a man like Shenute get his way with disturbing municipal life. Shenute was not the good son of Panopolis Van der Vliet makes him out to be.[29]

Ammon's archive and family

Unlike the fifth-century pagans, Ammon and his family were the tip of a quickly melting pagan iceberg. In the texts Ammon refers freely to the gods, although only one is mentioned by name (Agathos Daimon, Egyptian Shai). He quotes his brother Harpokration as saying that people who oppose the interests of their family are enemies of the gods. The earlier generation of the family consists of priests, and the oldest member of Ammon's own generation, Horion I, is an *archiprophetes*, a chief prophet (a kind of priest), whose son Horion II has to become a *prophetes* too. Ammon himself seems to have been a priest before embarking on a quite different public career, that of *scholastikos*. As an imperial panegyrist his brother Harpokration went around praising and serving Christian emperors, but this was not a problem for pagans as we know from Libanius. The archive, then, offers a unique insight into the religious stance of a fourth-century family of pagans in public as well as in private.

In what follows I will concentrate on the two longest texts in the archive and show how and when they were written. This will not be easy without constant reference to the edition. A lot of the papyrological groundwork still needs to be done on these texts. The first text, a letter written by Ammon from Alexandria to his mother in Panopolis (*P.Ammon* I 3), is the longest private letter from antiquity to survive. How did he construct this very long text? The second text of 348 (*P.Ammon* I 13) is part of a series of drafts relating to a dispute between Ammon and one Eugeneios over part of the inheritance of Ammon's brother

[28] More specifically the market for oil (= wisdom). The case is set out by P. ROUSSEAU, *Pachomius* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1985), 163-169. The monks added salt to the 'oil' to preserve it and to give it a palatable taste. Just possibly, without the addition of salt Panopolitan oil was stinking as much as Panopolitan wine (e.g. that of Gessios). Egypt is not the right place for growing wine or olive oil.

[29] VAN DER VLIET, *Riggisberger Berichte* 1 (1993), 126. Actually, Van der Vliet says Shenute was as good a son of Panopolis as Nonnus. The latter does not seem to have cared much about Panopolis. For his references to things Egyptian see D. GIGLI PICCARDI, 'Nonno e l'Egitto', *Prometheus* 24 (1998), 61-82 and 161-181. The lack of references to Panopolis is remarkable.

Harpokration, who had died recently. The series of drafts is one of the rare cases from antiquity where we possess the various stages of a prose text in the process of being composed. Both the letter and the drafts allow us to catch a glimpse of the kind of rhetorical and literary training available at Panopolis.

The poets from Panopolis, Cyrus, Nonnus and Pamprepius in the fifth century, have always received much attention from scholars, because they were involved in the affairs of the empire.[30] We may add Triphiodorus in the third century[31] and Ammon's nephew Apollon in the fourth, thus creating a series of poets from Panopolis that runs to almost three centuries — or even longer, if we add Ptolemagrios' monument.[32] Ammon may be regarded as a prose author from Panopolis. We know several other prose authors from Panopolis, from the somewhat older Zosimus the alchemist, who dabbled in philosophy and religion, to the much younger Cyrus, who dabbled in homiletics and hagiography.[33] The prose 'tradition' (if we may call it that) in Panopolis spans almost two centuries. Neither poetry nor prose was the exclusive domain of either pagans or Christians from Panopolis.[34] Ammon presents both himself and his brother Harpokration as involved 'in philosophy and literature'.[35] The latter was involved in the affairs of the empire as the fifth-century poets from Panopolis were. Was he a poet like his nephew Apollon or was he a prose author like his brother Ammon?

From the late fourth century onwards we have several poems praising emperors and other high officials written by poets from Egypt including Claudian. Did Harpokration as an imperial panegyrist compose similar poems? There are several indications that he was in fact a prose panegyrist. According to an unpublished text from Florence Flavius Harpokration was a public sophist at Panopolis. His training therefore was in oratory, not poetry. From the earlier fourth century we only have prose panegyrics. There is one in

[30] See A.E. CAMERON, 'Wandering Poets', *Historia* 14 (1965), 470-509.

[31] The earliest papyrus of Triphiodoros (*P.Oxy.* XLI 2946) dates from the third or fourth century.

[32] On Ptolemagrios and his monument see the contribution by L. Criscuolo. In P. VAN MINNEN, 'Euergetism in Graeco-Roman Egypt', in: L. MOOREN (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (Leuven, 2000), 437-469 at 451-453, I support an early Roman date for the monument.

[33] P. PEETERS, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Bruxelles, 1950), 39-40, first suggested Cyrus as the author of the martyrdom of Menas, which makes this Alexandrian (and not particularly Panopolitan) martyr die in Kotyaion in Phrygia. Cyrus was exiled there as a bishop after his political fall in 441. Earlier Cyrus had the church of the Theotokos built in Constantinople. In Kotyaion he held the shortest sermon ever. See T.E. GREGORY, 'The Remarkable Christmas Homily of Kyros Panopolites', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 16 (1975), 317-324. For the idea expressed in that sermon that Mary became pregnant through her ear see the iconographical material from Egypt in K. URBANIAK-WALCZAK, *Die conceptio per aurem* (Altenberge, 1992).

[34] E. LIVREA, 'Il poeta ed il vescovo', *Prometheus* 13 (1987), 97-123, identified Nonnus with a bishop of Edessa with that name, but this has been challenged by A. CAMERON, 'The poet, the bishop, and the harlot', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 41 (2000), 175-188. For Nonnus' religious affiliation it is immaterial whether he wrote the Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel or not.

[35] Literally: ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ λόγοις ἀνηγμένοι (cf. *P.Ammon* I 13, 9).

Greek on papyrus often attributed to the reign of Julian, which Barnes wants to attribute to the reign of Constantine.[36] It was apparently written by a pagan panegyrist, by Harpokration or another such person. Panegyrics in verse seem to be a late fourth-century innovation. In the first half of the fourth century we expect prose panegyrics.

When Ammon wrote his letter to his mother, Harpokration had only just embarked on an international career. Rumours had reached Ammon and his brother in Alexandria that Harpokration was going to be appointed to a high office somewhere. By the time Harpokration died in 348, he had traversed the whole empire, from Greece to Rome to Constantinople, and told the praises of the emperors and their victories[37] in addition to having been curator and procurator in various cities of Greece. Apparently Harpokration held a position of trust with the emperors, because curators and procurators were the emperors' special envoys to straighten out cities in financial trouble.[38] Smooth talk, not outright financial help, was the best the emperors had to offer such cities.

In the letter he wrote to his mother and in the related petition for his nephew Horion II, which he wrote on the same occasion (*P.Ammon* I 4), Ammon, who probably had a less brilliant career (priest, then *scholastikos*) than his brother Harpokration (sophist, then panegyrist), tried to show off his scholastic achievement by the use of rhetorical flourishes and a magnificent script. In 348 Ammon, now a *scholastikos*, used a broader and less precious kind of script, but still indulged in rhetorical flourishes. Much earlier, perhaps at the beginning of his career, Ammon seems to have been a priest. His archive contains a receipt (P.Duk.inv. 198 of 326) made out to someone else via the priest Ammon, presumably our man. He may thus have followed in his father's footsteps before joining the ranks of the *scholastikoi*. Priests traditionally enjoyed exemption from liturgies, but already in the course of Constantine's reign this may have become problematic. Because of the advanced education Ammon had enjoyed as a member of the local elite, he could easily step into another career that also provided exemption from liturgies.

It is time to have a look at the family tree as reconstructed by the editors.[39]

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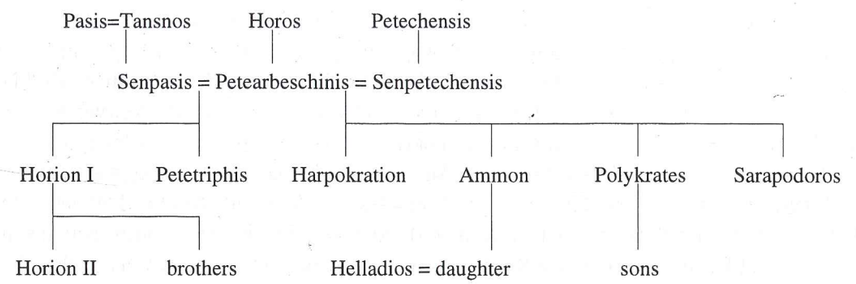
[36] T.D. BARNES, 'Julian or Constantine?' in: *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 1 (Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1997), 67-70.

[37] Which victories is uncertain. See J.-P. CALLU, 'Un "miroir des princes"', *Gerión* 5 (1987), 133-152 at 136, who suggests 348 and puts Libanius, *Or.* 59 in that context too. Barnes puts the latter in 344. According to the petition of Ammon, Harpocration praised the victories (plural) of emperors (plural), which is too vague to exclude Constantine. The panegyrics are called by a technical term *basilikoi logoi*.

[38] BROWNE, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 194, incorrectly regards a procurator as an imperial financial officer. In this context a special envoy must be meant.

[39] *P.Ammon* I, p. 3, abbreviated.



The first date in the archive is 281, the date of a sale of property sold the year after to the first wife of Ammon's father, Senpasis, a priestess (*P.Coll.Youtie* II 71-72). The first dated document is from 289, when she had the sale finally registered with the local administrators (*P.Coll.Youtie* II 73). The last certain date in the archive is 365 or 366. Among the oldest documents in the archive, not directly related to Ammon's generation, are several declarations of private property. The landed property is located in the Panopolite nome, the houses in Panopolis itself. Most declarations are from 303, filed by Ammon's father Petearbeschinis, a priest, and by his then wife, Senpetechensis, not a priestess (e.g. P.Duk.inv. 182). In 299 Horion I, Ammon's older brother, registered the property officially belonging to the *propheteia* in the Panopolite nome (P.Duk.inv. 180). He filed this report as *archiprophetes*. In the receipt dated to 326 and referred to above Ammon seems to appear as a priest. Ammon's letter to his mother and the related petition he wrote for his nephew Horion II are undated. The dispute with Eugeneios dates from 348. In 365 or 366 Ammon was involved in legal proceedings (P.Duk.inv. 209). About the same time he had a dispute with a neighbour, who had encroached upon his property and that of his widowed daughter's orphaned children (P.Duk.inv. 179 verso, 207-208 and 1283; their father was called Helladios). The petition Ammon wrote on that occasion mentions Flavius Eutolmios Tatianus, apparently as *praeses* of the Thebaid. There are many more undated texts, some in Ammon's mature hand, as many of the accounts and lists of property are, some in much earlier hands than his. The latter presumably relate to the older generation and established some right later claimed by members of Ammon's generation. This explains why they ended up in his archive. Since he was the last surviving member of his generation, as far as we know, all of the family's papers eventually ended up with him.

A brief comment on the names of the various family members. Only Petetriphis, who is listed as a houseowner in *P.Panop.Bork.*, has a good Panopolitan name. Whether he was the son of Senpasis is not actually certain. He does not occur in the archive. The name of Ammon's father's second wife and her father's name are odd. Petechensis (genitive: Petechensitos) must contain the name of a god. Chensit is the name of a goddess from the

eastern Delta.[40] Ammon's father's name, Petearbeschinis, is derived from Harbeschinis, Horus lord of Letopolis, the patron deity of φιλοσοφία according to a fragment of the *Corpus Hermeticum* preserved by Stobaeus.[41] Ammon's father and grandfathers all have Egyptian names (note that it is Horos, genitive: Horotos, not Horos, genitive: Horou). Ammon and his brothers Horion I and Harpokration seem to have more ordinary Graeco-Egyptian names. There is a possibility that Ammon actually had another, Egyptian, name as well, Petechensis, mentioned in two unpublished texts in Ammon's hand (P.Duk.inv. 211-212, two drafts of a petition about a priesthood) directed to Salvius Synegorios, perhaps the *archiereus* of Egypt.[42] In that case Senpetechensis must certainly have been his mother. She is not a priestess, because in the texts of 303 in which her husband occurs as a priest she is definitively not called a priestess (unlike Senpasis in texts in which she occurs). Ammon's maternal grandfather Petechensis may not have been a priest. If his grandson Petechensis alias Ammon[43] was a priest, he must have inherited the status from his father Petearbeschinis. Does this mean that the status of priest in the early fourth century no longer depended on the status of both parents?

Not all connections between the various family members are as certain as they are presented in the family tree. Of Ammon's brothers only Harpokration is attested as a full brother. Polykrates and Sarapodoros are called 'brothers' in Ammon's letter to his mother. They are involved in the family business at Panopolis. That text, however, also mentions two other women called 'mother', Makaria and Kanea, older relatives, perhaps on

[40] Because of the vocalization and the ending the name cannot be explained with reference to Chonsu. In *BGU* X 1928, 10 of the third century B.C. Πετέχωνσιν is said to have been corrected from Πετέχενσιν. It can hardly be a coincidence that that text relates to the Panopolite nome. *T.Mom.Louvre* 368A offers another instance of the name (Πετέχενσυς) from the Panopolite nome.

[41] Fr. xxvi 9 Festugière. On the basis of this, the commentary to *I.Abydos* 400 suggests that the name Petearbeschinis was especially common in scribal families.

Among the various men called Petearbeschinis in our sources from Panopolis, P. DERCHAIN, *Le dernier obélisque* (Bruxelles, 1987), 35 and 53, singles out the priest commemorated in a stela of Hadrianic date published by A. SCHARFF, 'Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit', *ZÄS* 62 (1927), 86-107, as a potential ancestor of Ammon. DERCHAIN, *Le dernier obélisque*, 46-51, offers a new translation of part of this text. It mentions Horus lord of Letopolis explicitly, not because the spelling of Letopolis resembles that of Panopolis in hieroglyphs, as SCHARFF, *ZÄS* 62 (1927), 90, thought, but because of the name of the man commemorated in the stela. There must have been a special veneration of Horus lord of Letopolis in Panopolis, as witnessed by the relatively frequent occurence of names composed with the name of this deity there. DERCHAIN, *Le dernier obélisque* imaginatively links the Petearbeschinis commemorated in the stela with the priest who was consulted for the hieroglyphic text on the obelisk of Antinoos. Hadrian's friend Pankrates the poet seems a better candidate for this, especially if he is the same as Pachrates the magician and prophet, but I do not want to be a spoil-sport.

[42] Cf. Salvius Timagenes *archiereus* in *P.Tebt.* II 435 and the forthcoming publication by T. Derda for the involvement of the gens Salvia in the *archiereia* of Egypt.

[43] Only the alpha is in fact preserved in P.Duk.inv. 211-212, but the drafts are in Ammon's hand and were found in his archive.

Ammon's mother's side.[44] If the two 'brothers' are indeed full brothers of Ammon, they are dead by 348, when he presents himself as the only legal heir of Harpokration in the dispute with Eugeneios. The 'brothers' are more likely otherwise related to Ammon. Because his mother is managing the family affairs at Panopolis for her absent sons Harpokration and Ammon, the other two are presumably not her own sons. Horion I seems a much older brother. He was *archiprophetes* in 299, so that he was born about 280 at the latest, in which case his mother was Senpasis. She must have died between 289 and 303, probably closer to 289, when she registered some property she acquired several years earlier, presumably because her end was near and some loose ends needed attention. By 303 Petearbeschinis was married to Senpetechensis. If she was indeed the mother of Ammon, he wrote his letter to her in the second decade of the fourth century at the earliest, because he was obviously a grown-up when he did. He had already finished an advanced education, perhaps only recently, and his brother was just embarking on an international career. Horion I had died recently, and his son, Horion II, was still a 'lad', παῖς, trying to succeed his father in the *propheteia*. He may have been about ten years younger than Harpokration and Ammon. Apollon the poet may be one of Horion II's (presumably younger) brothers mentioned in the letter. Ammon survived at least into the 60s of the fourth century, when he had a widowed daughter and her minor children to look after. In a petition written in that period he claims to be too old and too weak to go out and inspect the situation in the field himself. Now, when Ammon wrote the letter to his mother he was not yet married. In that case it was written in the fourth decade of the fourth century at the latest, because otherwise he could not have had minor grandchildren in the 360s. The letter contains a reference to a former prefect of Egypt, known from one other, unfortunately undated, text.[45] In the letter Harpokration is quoted as saying that he will actually get the *propheteia* for his nephew from the emperor. This could fit Licinius, but his successor Constantine cannot be excluded, at least his early years as sole emperor (324-330). I will return to that in the next section.

One more comment on the chronology of the events in the archive in the appendix to this contribution. If Ammon copied the list of philosophers (*P.Ammon* I 1) while at Alexandria in 348,[46] we would here have an example of the kind of learning *not* readily available in

[44] That one of them could be Ammon's maternal grandmother, as suggested by the editors, seems unlikely.

[45] Since the reference in the letter is to agents of this former prefect and since he is a local man to judge from his name (Apion), his prefecture may have occurred much earlier than the date of the letter. *P.Ammon* I 3 iv 4: οἵ τε [πα]ρ' Ἀ[πί]ωνος [ἡγεμ]ονεύσαν[τ]ος, might actually also be read as follows: οἱ το[ῦ Σα]ρα[πί]ωνος [τοῦ ἡγεμ]ονεύσαν[τ]ος. There is certainly room for τοῦ. Aurelius Apion is attested in *PSI* VI 685. Apion (or Sarapion) could perhaps be squeezed into the fasti of the prefects of Egypt in 312/3 (preceded by another local man, Aurelius Ammonios) or 326/7.

[46] It is written in the same broad hand and with the same flaky ink as some of the drafts.

Panopolis,[47] but also an example of how such learning could reach Panopolis in a rather unobtrusive way.

Ammon's letter to his mother

The first text I want to discuss in some detail is the long letter written by Ammon from Alexandria to his mother in Panopolis (*P.Ammon* I 3). Needless to say, we latter-day correspondents spoiled by e-mail have never written such a letter. It runs to six impressive columns in a magnificent hand. Obviously derived from a bookhand, it yet preserves the fluency of a documentary hand. The script is rather narrow, but iota adscripts are written, long alphas followed by an iota adscript are marked by a makron, and careful interpunction is observed: there are high and low dots corresponding to low and high stops in our system. How did Ammon do it? Just as he went through several drafts to compose the text for the dispute with Eugeneios in 348, I suggest that he went through several drafts to compose the letter to his mother. I think I can even prove this.

In column iv, line 24 and in column v, line 16 portions of text have been inserted. In the first instance the original text does not make any sense, because it contradicts Ammon's intention ('I will prevail with the *archiereus* myself with the help of Diocletian's rescript', but now preceded by a negation). The insert restores the sense ('Not\hing avails against Diocletian's rescript, but/ I will prevail with the *archiereus* myself with the help of Diocletian's rescript'). Harpokration also received a copy of the rescript to show the emperor, and this elicited Ammon's comment about the effect the rescript would have. What happened? The insert begins with the same sequence of letters (δε) as the immediately following text. Ammon copied these lines from a draft and jumped ahead a line too soon from οὐδέ to ἐγὼ δέ. In the second instance we find something similar. In this case the text as it originally was makes no sense either ('This I always pray for, alone my greatest hope, this is my greatest happiness'; one rather expects '*this* alone is my greatest hope' to produce a balanced sentence). Again the insert restores the sense ('This I always pray for — \the gods are my witness, — this/ alone is my greatest hope, this is my greatest happiness'; a nice triplet).[48] Again there is a certain resemblance between the first letters of the insert and what immediately follows. In Ammon's hand μοι and μαρ look very much alike. Again I would suggest that Ammon was copying from a draft and inadvertantly skipped μαρτυροῦσιν and what follows and first wrote μοι and what follows.

[47] Contrast MARTIN – PRIMAVESI, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg*, 51, who envisage an unbroken philosophical tradition at Panopolis in the Roman period on the basis of an Empedocles papyrus and Ammon's list of scholarchs.

[48] Note that αὕτη is left untranslated by the editors.

Now that we have some idea of how Ammon did it, we may well ask why he did it. In the case of the dispute of 348 a careful phrasing and multiple drafts would not seem to be out of place, but in a private letter to one's mother this seems inappropriate. Ammon clearly wanted to impress his mother. Could she read? If not, she could at least admire the regularity of the script. She must have kept the letter with her stuff, which Ammon later inherited from her. The letter was found after all in his archive. Did his mother know Greek? She probably did, because much of the polished style would disappear in translation. To appreciate such a letter Ammon's mother would have had to have some knowledge of the intricacies of the script and of the style well beyond the ordinary knowledge needed to appreciate an ordinary letter in ordinary Greek. She must have enjoyed some higher education. Ammon was following in her footsteps as much as he was in those of his father.

Let me briefly go through the text of the letter section by section. A new section is always introduced by δέ, and it is about the same in the drafts of 348. The first column of the letter is almost completely gone. This must have already been the case when Ammon wrote a full list of his property on the back many years later.

(1) In col. ii the first section deals with general ideas in reaction to his mother's letter (referred to in line 7: σὺ μὴ γράψῃς [, 'don't write . . .'). Among them we find that nothing is in the hands of us mortals (οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν in line 17). From line 8 onwards there is an interesting remark about fortune, *tyche*. I would reconstruct the Greek as follows: τὴν τ̣[ύχην πάντων] κ̣ρατοῦσαν καὶ πᾶσιν πάντα ὁρίζ̣ο̣[υσα]ν,[49] δεσ[μοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν κύκλων] τούτων τῶν ἐ[π]άνω ἡμῶν τοὺς π[αρ' ἀ]νθρώποις ποτὲ μ[ὲν ἀγα]θούς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ δυσκόλους, 'fortune holding sway over all and determining all things to all men, tying to those[50] cycles that are above us the (cycles) that are with men, which are sometimes good, sometimes bad'. In line 11 follows: 'just as for us[51] the present cycle is bad, but soon a better cycle is coming to us'. The cycles (or revolutions) above seem to refer to the zodiac, which determines the ups and downs of human life. Ammon's inspiration probably derives from the many representations of the zodiac in and around Panopolis. These date from the late Ptolemaic and early Roman period,[52] but would still be visible on public[53] and private[54] monuments. Ammon's references to the cycles (also in col. iii, lines 16-18) do not

[49] There is no room for the middle ὁριζ̣ο̣[μένη]ν, which we moreover do not expect.

[50] Perhaps referred to earlier or known to Ammon's mother.

[51] I would read π̣[αρ' ἡ]μῖν, not ν̣[ῦν ἡ]μῖν.

[52] For the zodiac as an innovation of the Graeco-Roman period see the references in K.P. KUHLMANN, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim* (Mainz, 1983), 38, note 174.

[53] Such as the architrave with the zodiac and the Greek inscription of Trajanic date still seen at Panopolis by early travellers. See KUHLMANN, *Materialien*, 41-44 for references and 25-38 for descriptions in Arabic authors of the great Roman temple at Panopolis, which was dismantled in the fourteenth century only and very likely contained representations of the signs of the zodiac inside.

[54] Such as the tombs in one of the cemeteries (C in KUHLMANN, *Materialien*) near Panopolis. Some of Ammon's second-century ancestors could have been buried there. See KUHLMANN, *Materialien*, 80 with note 383 for references.

inspire much confidence in his command of astronomy.[55] He certainly did not sit down to calculate what was going to happen next from the position of the stars. He is not too precise about the gods who shape his destiny either. His religion centers on 'fortune' and the idea that men do not shape their own destiny. This would seem to be a religion of *blosse Abhängigkeit* without the 'complement' of *freie Wahl*, to use Hornung's terminology.[56] Ammon says that prosperity is just around the corner and that the present troubles will be compensated before long. But apparently that does not keep him from taking matters into his own hands.

(2) The second section starts in col. ii, line 21. It concerns Ammon's mother. She has to manage the family affairs at home in Panopolis in the absence of her sons (this suggests that Polykrates and Sarapodoros, though related to the family, are not her sons). She is apparently having trouble with paying taxes (line 24 refers to *apaitetai*, tax collectors), and there are some arrears referred to (line 28: *loipades*).

(3) The third section is introduced in col. iii, line 8. It concerns Horion II's bid to the *propheteia*. From the phrase in col. ii, line 13 ('from the first month', ἀπὸ πρώτου μ[ηνός], of his absence from home) it follows that Ammon had been in Alexandria for this at least several months. He had already approached the *archiereus*, the high priest in Alexandria in charge of public cults in Egypt, but he had not been able to secure the *propheteia*. The *archiereus* visited the Delta before the festival of the Sarapeia on April 25, for which he had to be in Alexandria.

(4) There is a new section already in col. iii, line 14. Ammon introduces it as a parenthesis ἀνὰ μέσον, so he is going to return to Horion II's case later on. He first deals with Harpokration's impending appointment to high office (according to line 15 he is to return to Panopolis μετ' ἀξιώματος πολλοῦ), news of which has been communicated by friends. This causes Ammon to return to his earlier comment on the cycle governing human destiny. From line 16 onwards there are several things wrong with the text as it stands. 'Fortune has again begun to raise Harpokration up'. Then τοῖ[ς γ]άρ does not fill the lacuna, and to translate the immediately following ἀεὶ θεοῖς as 'eternal gods' is impossible. Moreover, I cannot read θεοῖς. I would restore τὸ ἴ[σον γ]άρ and instead of φ[ίλο]ς in the next line I would read ὁ κ[ύκλο]ς.[57] The meaning of the resulting sentence: τὸ ἴ[σον γ]ὰρ ἀεὶ traces ὁ κ[ύκλο]ς οὗτος, must be something like: 'that[58] cycle always produces (vel sim.) equality'. What follows would then fit perfectly. 'Whenever the cycle is pressed down (I would read κάτω θῆι as two words) completely,[59] it (or Harpokration) drops to a low level (reading

[55] The astronomical tradition in Panopolis (on which see KUHLMANN, *Materialien*, 74, note 376) was no longer alive in the fourth century. The astronomical ostraca peter out in the early Roman period. Incidentally, in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnus the references to astronomy are not meant to be very precise either.

[56] On this see the contribution by H.-J. Thissen.

[57] Before that I cannot read [ἐ]στι.

[58] Mentioned before, as indeed the cycle in this case certainly is, or again known to Ammon's mother.

[59] In the transcription in line 17 πᾶν has inadvertantly dropped out before κάτω θῆι.

κ]αταβαίνει, not δ'] ἀναβαίνει), and whenever it is pushed up (vel sim.), it (or Harpokration) rises up again to a high level'. The text continues with vague references to rumours, but does not specify the nature of Harpokration's prestigious appointment (πρᾶξιν μεγίστην in line 20). It may be related to the Ethiopian embassy, headed by 'the governor of the Ethiopians' mentioned in line 21. Harpokration is on good terms with him: he has spent each day with him and dined with him.[60] Pekysis in line 23 must be the letter carrier who will provide Ammon's mother with additional information from Alexandria. Ammon's mother had sent a letter to Harpokration (line 25),[61] who may have been mom's golden boy rather than Ammon. This letter had perhaps been delivered by the Ethiopian embassy, which passed Panopolis on its way to Alexandria. It is possible that 'the Ethiopian' in line 26 is in fact an Ethiopian in Ammon's household, who could also have sent word from Panopolis, just as Ammon's mother. The presence of an Ethiopian in the household of Ammon would explain why the Ethiopian embassy had anything to do with them in Panopolis. This is all rather speculative, I admit. According to line 26 Harpokration apparently escorts the embassy to the imperial court, the *comitatus*. In col. iv, lines 9-10 Harpokration's parting words are reported, in which he announces his return in Mesore before the wine harvest, and the actual date of his departure (read ἀπῆ[λθε]ν in line 10 followed by a full stop) is given as April 28.

(5) The fifth section starts immediately after in col. iv, line 10. Harpokration left three female slaves behind for Ammon to take up to Panopolis. I will return to this at the end of this section.

(6) In col. iv, line 14 Ammon returns to Horion II in the sixth section. Here Harpokration's strong words about 'the enemies of the gods' are reported (lines 20-22) as well as Ammon's confidence in Diocletian's rescript, which was favourable to the family's position (dating from the time of Horion I perhaps). From the related petition we know that his expectation that the *archiereus* would comply with the rescript did not immediately materialize. Whether Harpokration was successful with the emperor we do not know. He also carried a copy of Diocletian's rescript with him according to lines 22-23.

Mainly on the basis of Harpokration's strong words about 'the enemies of the gods' the editors think it possible that the present trouble the family is experiencing relates to 'the encroachment of Christianity upon the hieratic family's pagan heritage' (*P.Ammon* I, p. 20). The words more likely refer to other pagans, in the person of the *archiereus*, who obstruct Horion II's succession to the *propheteia*. Ammon and his family were interested in the position because of the prestige (*philotimia*) involved. From the related petition we gather

[60] Not with the emperor, as CAMERON, *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982), 219, thought. The reference is to something in Alexandria, which Ammon and Pekysis, the letter carrier, both witnessed. I would put the article at the end of line 21, which I cannot read, in the lacuna at the beginning of the next line and also suggest a slightly longer supplement for the beginning of line 23: [ἦν καὶ συνεδ]είπνει.

[61] I would remove the article τά in the lacuna before γράμματα. There is no room for it.

that the entrance fee (*eiskritikon*) for Horion II had already been paid to the 'priestly account', *hieratikos logos* (or *hieratikon tameion*), but that this did not yet have the desired effect. In addition, there were the financial perquisites traditionally enjoyed by officially appointed priests to consider. In this connection it is important to note that in his letter Ammon mentions the economic difficulties he and his family are presently experiencing. This does not mean that they were poor, on the contrary: they may have been among the largest landowners in the Panopolite nome. But if one member of Ammon's family would lose the immunities offered to priests, this could have grave consequences for the family as a whole. Ammon also mentions that the *archiereus* has used up (or squeezed the last drop out of) the term of *prostates* (col. iv, line 26). This may well refer to a temporary replacement of the *prophetes* pending a definitive appointment. Perhaps the *archiereus* had another candidate than Horion II in mind for the job. A competitor for the *propheteia* and the *archiereus* who may have preferred the competitor over Horion II may well have been described as 'the enemies of the gods' by Harpokation on his departure from Alexandria.[62]

(7) In col. v, line 5 the seventh section starts, a topic no doubt raised by Ammon's mother in her letter to Harpokration. Ammon tells her how to deal with the family affairs at Panopolis. He has a few remarks on Polykrates and Sarapodoros, who may not be his real brothers, as we have seen. The editors reconstruct lines 5-6 in such a way that Sarapodoros has wasted some of Ammon's paternal inheritance. I think this is incorrect. In lines 12-13 Ammon's mother offers to repay him. I suspect *she* wasted some of her son's paternal inheritance. In line 6 we can supply alpha instead of epsilon (ἀ̣νή̣λωσ̣[α], referring to Ammon's mother) and at the end of the previous line we can safely reject the editors' reading Σα̣[ραπόδωρος. Note that the qualification 'wastrel' accompanying Sarapodoros' name in the family tree as reconstructed by the editors (*P.Ammon* I, p. 3) is based solely on this, in my view erroneous, reconstruction of the text. A bad reputation is easily established in papyrology! Ammon consoles his mother with some spurious ideas in lines 7-12 the logic of which I find disarming.[63]

(8) In col. v, line 18 the eighth section starts (read the opening as [τοῦτο δ]έ, not τόδ]ε). It contains instructions to Ammon's mother as to how to manage the estate. The other 'brothers' are told to help her with the collection of the rent in cash (φόρων in line 21) from the family estate in the toparchy Arabia on the east bank of the Nile. Comments on sundry matters follow.[64]

The greeting follows in col. vi, line 17. It gives an overview of Ammon's household at the time the letter was written. Apart from his mother there is Sarapodoros, a relative of

[62] If the text dates from the early years of Constantine as sole emperor, the *archiereus* himself could conceivably be a Christian. But one would not expect this so early. See *C.Th.* XII 1, 112 of 386, where Christians are forbidden to take on the *archierosyne*.

[63] Note that the translation of line 14 requires the reading γένοιτ[ό με], not γένοιτ[ο σέ].

[64] In line 16 σὺν θε[οῖς could also be σὺν θε[ῶι.

sorts, two older female relatives called 'mother', Horion II, on whose behalf Ammon is in Alexandria, Horion II's brothers, perhaps including Apollon the poet of 348, Horion II's mother and the slaves belonging to their household. Perhaps they occupied the family residence in Panopolis. There are additional greetings for Polykrates, his sons and the slaves in his household. Unlike Ammon, Harpokration and Sarapodoros, Polykrates has apparently been married. He too may have been a relative of Ammon's, but not a full brother. He may have occupied a house of his own.

The related petition (*P.Ammon* I 4) Ammon wrote for Horion II at about the same time and in the same magnificent hand as the letter to his mother is unfortunately very damaged. We do not know whether Ammon styled himself a *scholastikos* in this text.[65] He may not have been one yet. The petition was presumably written for Horion II in Alexandria to the prefect of Egypt and thus went over the head of the highpriest. In that case the period 314-324 can be excluded, because no prefects of Egypt with overruling authority for the whole of Egypt were appointed in that period. This would give us the period until 314 or that after 324 as a possible date for the letter and the related petition. The fact that the petition was found with the other papers of Ammon suggests that it was not handed in, perhaps because the prefecture of the whole of Egypt was discontinued before the petition could be handed in, but this is uncertain. The case may have become moot, because the *archiereus* gave in after all. The reference to Diocletian's rescript might suggest that his reign was recent enough[66] to impress the reigning emperor, say Licinius, but in fact the *archiereus* (perhaps mockingly referred to as 'most just', δικαιότατος, in line 49) took no notice of it. A date after 324 would fit Harpokration's career better. Born in the last decade of the third century at the earliest, he made a local career as public sophist first and then embarked on an international career, presumably under Constantine. A date just before 314 would therefore be very tight.[67] Diocletian's rescript probably dates from the time the elder Horion became *prophetes* himself, at least before 299. Even the early Constantine as sole emperor (324-330) may be presumed to honour a rescript of his illustrious predecessor. Given the fact that Ammon's grandchildren are still minors in the 360s and that he is not yet married when he writes the letter to his mother, a date in the 330s for the letter and the related petition would also be very tight. I would prefer to put them not too long after 324, which on the basis of the present evidence would seem to fit both Harpokration's career and Ammon's own fam-

[65] The edition includes a small fragment in the top left corner, in which Ammon explicitly refers to himself as *scholastikos*. That fragment, however, does not belong to this text, but to another, presumably much later, petition. It is written in a distinctly different hand from the magnificent hand of Ammon's letter to his mother and the related petition. A thorough revision of lines 1-3 of *P.Ammon* I 4 (suppressing the reference to the prefect of Egypt of 348) and also of the subscription is called for. In the note to line 59 a much shorter supplement was already suggested (reading θείου π[ρὸς πατρός instead of Π[ετεαρβεσχίνιος and all the rest).

[66] Diocletian abdicated in 305 and died in 313.

[67] As yet unpublished texts from Florence might throw more light on Harpokration's career.

ily history better. The letter and the petition would give us in any case the latest references to the office of the *archiereus* of Egypt and to the succession to a priesthood in the papyri.

So far I have not considered the editors' date for Ammon's letter to his mother and the related petition: 348. They base this very late date[68] on the similarity between the slaves that are the object of the dispute of 348 and the three female slaves of Harpokration mentioned in the letter. In both cases Harpokration left some slaves with Ammon in Alexandria. There are a number of insurmountable difficulties involved, which the editors do not address. First the number of slaves. Even if the dispute of 348 concerned three slaves (cf. *P.Ammon* I 13, 70), these represented Ammon's share in his brother's inheritance. Eugeneios, who also had a claim on the slaves left by Harpokration, got to keep a number of other slaves out of Harpokration's inheritance. Moreover, if the slaves of 348 would be the same as in the letter, they seem not only to have multiplied, but also to have undergone a sex change. They seem decidedly to be male slaves in 348, whereas in the letter to his mother Ammon specifies that the slaves are female (*P.Ammon* I 3 iv 11). In *P.Ammon* I 13, 49 Ammon says something about the mother of the slaves: ⸌Νίκης⸍ τῆς μητρὸς τούτων τῶν σωμάτων [: 'the mother of these slaves being . . .' corrected to 'Nike, the mother of the slaves, being . . .'. She apparently belonged to the family's household (vel sim.), an extra argument to strengthen the claim of Ammon's family on the slaves. The editors take Νίκης with what precedes and turn her into Ammon's own mother, but Nike, which they interpret as Senpetechensis' otherwise unrecorded alias, is a common name for a slave. If we leave out the name, which was inserted, the original text does not make sense unless τῆς μητρός is taken with what follows in a genitive absolute construction, which is obscured by the editors' interpunction between τῆς μητρός and τούτων τῶν σωμάτων. Now, in the letter Ammon describes the three slaves for his mother's information, which would be very odd if their mother belonged to her household. In one of the other versions of the text of 348 (P.Ammon I 15) the editors make Ammon declare about the disputed slaves (line 1): 'who are still girls', οἳ (sic) παρθενεύονται [ἔτι (?). In fact the text does not read this at all, but rather οἱ παραθέμενοι ..[, 'the ones entrusted', which fits the slaves involved in the dispute of 348 perfectly. That removes the final argument to link the male slaves in 348 with the female slaves in the letter of much earlier date.

The slaves of 348 are in other words another lot Harpokration left behind on a later occasion than the one in the letter. After Harpokration left behind an unknown number of male slaves he spent years abroad, during which he delivered panegyrics on the emperors, visited Greece, Rome and Constantinople (inaugurated on May 11, 330) and served as curator and procurator on a mission from the emperor in the cities of Greece (*P.Ammon* I 13, 23-26). This is impossible in the short time span between April 28, the date of

[68] R.S. BAGNALL, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 272-273, had already objected to the date for the letter and the related petition, because the bid for a pagan priesthood was in his view unexpected after Licinius.

Harpokration's departure in the letter, and December 9, the date of the first dated document Ammon wrote in Alexandria in 348, if all of this has to be squeezed into one and the same year. Several years at least separated Harpokration's departure from Alexandria to take up his first major appointment and the dispute of 348, which arose after his death. Ammon had apparently taken some of the slaves with him, but others had remained behind in Alexandria, because he did not want to force them to follow him.[69] They had left their original home in Alexandria apparently long before 348,[70] and Eugeneios had a hard time locating them on his arrival in Alexandria to claim the slaves. He went all the way to Panopolis to get in touch with Ammon and to secure at least some of the slaves for himself.

The dispute of 348

I will now have a closer look at the drafts of the *diamartyria*, protestation, addressed to the *katholikos*, a high provincial official in Alexandria, and written there. The fullest draft (*P.Ammon* I 13) is a substantial text. It was preceded in Panopolis by a carefully written *entole*, deputation, which was apparently never used, because it was found among Ammon's papers (*P.Ammon* I 5).[71] A prominent citizen of Panopolis was to represent Ammon before the prefect of Egypt. What had happened? Years earlier Harpokration had left a number of slaves in Alexandria, whom Ammon had never been able to dispose of properly. After they had spent some time with an Alexandrian friend of Harpokration, Konon, they decamped. In 348 word had come from Alexandria to Panopolis that Ammon's brother Harpokration had died and that a *memorarios*, an administrator of the imperial court, called Eugeneios, tried to get hold of the slaves, now without an owner. Ammon was apparently too busy with sowing his landed property — we are in October or November of 348 — to go to Alexandria himself and wanted to send a fellow citizen, a councillor and a former magistrate of Panopolis, to Alexandria in his stead. Before that became necessary, Eugeneios, who had himself found out that Harpokration had a surviving full brother, decided to go up from Alexandria to Panopolis with a summons from the *katholikos* to settle the dispute.

In Panopolis, in the presence of several trustworthy friends, among whom we find a former *iuridicus* and Ammon's nephew Apollon the poet,[72] the dispute between Ammon

[69] In *P.Ammon* I 7, 17 ἐβουλήθη refers to Ammon. Perhaps it stands for ἐβουλήθην.

[70] Note that the text says 'much earlier', πρὸ πολλοῦ, in line 31, which the editors mistranslate as 'earlier'.

[71] It is not written in the same magnificent hand as Ammon's letter to his mother and the related petition. The writing is broader, more like the drafts of the *diamartyria*, only more careful.

[72] The third man is 'another, Horion', according to the certification. This the editors take to mean 'another nephew' (alternatively, Horion might be another *poet*). This is unnecessary, and Horion is never mentioned in the drafts of the *diamartyria*. He was not very important, so it seems. Neither he nor Apollon the poet can be the

and Eugeneios was settled in such a way that Eugeneios was to keep half the slaves in the absence of a will of Harpokration. The other slaves he was supposed to deliver to Ammon, which he never properly did. Shortly after this a message from the *katholikos* was sent to Ammon in Panopolis urging him to come to Alexandria in person. Apparently the *katholikos* had a reason to reopen the case (the emergence of a will, perhaps), or perhaps Eugeneios had failed to put en end to the procedure he had started with the *katholikos*. Ammon hastened to Alexandria where he was unable to locate Eugeneios. He duly reported his arrival to the *katholikos* in a certification of which a draft version survives in the archive (*P.Ammon* I 6). It is dated to December 9, 348.

The *katholikos* then apparently demanded a further explanation as to the case, and this Ammon set out to do at the very end of 348 in a long *diamartyria*, protestation, several versions of which survive. The first version was no doubt *P.Ammon* I 7, which Ammon began to write in a very careful hand. This is expanded in the other versions. The sequence of the versions is not of great concern to us, although they illustrate the way in which a *scholastikos* in the fourth century composed and rephrased a long and complicated *narratio*. While Ammon was drafting the various versions it became clear that Harpokration had in fact left a will, which gave a totally new twist to the case. In *P.Ammon* I 13 we apparently have a fairly full version, which Ammon probably reworked later on.[73] The opening *captatio benevolentiae* is preserved, but the text does not contain the actual request to the *katholikos*. Many abbreviations occur in this version, and part of the text appears in the margins of the text on the recto. It is not surprising to find several indications in the drafts of oral presentation. The most important clue is provided by one of the drafts (*P.Ammon* I 11) where a quotation from one of Harpokration's letters[74] ends with the phrase μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, 'after the reading' (line a 22). This 'stage direction' usually follows the reading of a document in court. The text Ammon wrote for the *katholikos* may in the course of composition have taken on the form more of an oral presentation than of a written text, although that is how the text began if we go by the address affixed to the first draft (*P.Ammon* I 7).

Let me go through *P.Ammon* I 13 briefly.[75] It is a complicated text, but there are in fact less problems than with the letter. The opening tries to win the favour of the *katholikos* by praising him as an official with an outstanding past record (lines 1-5). Ammon refers to the providence of the gods and to Agathos Daimon (Egyptian Shai, very prominent in Panopolis, as witnessed by Shenute) in line 2. This is followed by a comment about the *katholikos* at present (lines 5-9, duly introduced by δέ). Ammon acts as if he is addressing the *katholikos* in person in court. Then he concentrates on himself and introduces this section with a strong τοίνυν (lines 9-14/15). Ammon ranks himself among those trained in philosophy and literature, in higher education in other words. He should have been left alone, but the matter of the slaves and the evil scheming of Eugeneios (who is no longer called *memorarios* here as is he in the earlier drafts and in the certification to the *katholikos*).

Ammon continues with the *narratio* proper. The first part (lines 16-22) briefly mentions the cause of the trouble: the fact that Harpokration left a number of slaves in Alexandria a long time ago. Next Ammon proceeds to relate the delays in Harpokration's return with a reference to the delusion of fortune (ὁ δαίμων, no longer ἀγαθός) in lines 22-34. Harpokration has spent a long time in Greece, Rome and Constantinople, praising the emperors and performing important tasks in the cities of Greece. He never returned to Alexandria. Then the next stage in the events is related: the sudden news about Harpokration's death abroad (lines 35-41). Then further news reaches Ammon (lines 41-47). One Eugeneios is trying to get hold of Harpokration's slaves in Alexandria. When he finds out about Harpokration's full brother Ammon, he goes to Panopolis, a fact recorded in the next section (lines 48-53). The settlement there is then described (lines 53-66). One of the mediators was Ammon's nephew Apollon, the poet, whom the *katholikos* also knew personally. Eugeneios is to hand over Ammon's half of the slaves — apparently three slaves — irrespective of whether any of them has run off in the mean time. The further addition in the upper margin reveals that Eugeneios in fact failed to do so (lines 67-70).[76]

The marginal additions on the recto continue the text on the verso. The first three follow immediately upon the preceding text. This is not the case with the fourth. The last line of the third addition (line 66) is left incomplete, which means that the text ends there. The fourth addition is an afterthought, to be inserted in a much later part of the text. It records the fact that Eugeneios, although he promised in the settlement arrived at in Panopolis to deliver Ammon's half of the slaves, never actually did this. In the composite translation of the editors this section disturbs the sequence of the text. Ammon continues with further remarks on the settlement, which he thinks very unfair. The emergence of Harpokration's will must have impressed the *katholikos* more than Ammon's second thoughts about the settlement, which had become obsolete.

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son of a full brother of Ammon, because in that case they had a stake in the inheritance too. Apollon may be one of Horion II's brothers mentioned in the letter, as I have suggested.

[73] If we accept the sequence of the drafts as established by the editors, *P.Ammon* I 7 is closely associated with text 14, which also preserves part of the address to the *katholikos*. Whereas texts 8, 9 and 10a belong to the earlier version, texts 10b, 11, 12 and 13 represent later stages of the same text. Text 15 cannot be located in the sequence. Texts 16-25 belong to other petitions, at least one of them directed to the prefect of Egypt, others perhaps preserving portions of various drafts of the text directed to the *katholikos*.

[74] In lines 33-34. I would take μοι there to refer to Harpokration.

[75] A composite translation can be found in *P.Ammon* I, pp. 136-142. The German version of this (*P.Ammon* I, pp. 163-179) introduces several mistakes, and I will therefore disregard it.

[76] In line 70 ἀποδημ]ήσαντος is clearly impossible. Ammon did not leave Alexandria.

Conclusion

A few concluding remarks. In the archive of Ammon we have an example of a hieratic family belonging to the local elite of an Egyptian metropolis. In the course of half a century we see them move from the priesthood, held by the older generation, Ammon's older brother and possibly by Ammon himself, to a variety of government functions, both at home (Ammon as a *scholastikos* in the Thebaid) and abroad (Harpokration as an imperial panegyrist and as a curator and procurator). Other non-hieratic members of the elite of Egyptian metropoleis, who sat on the local councils and held magistracies in their home town in the third century, also moved on to greater glory in the new bureaucracy of the fourth century introduced by Diocletian and Constantine. The transition was made possible by the cultural heritage shared by all members of the urban elite, i.e. Greek literary culture. The ability to speak (embodied by Harpokration) and write (embodied by Ammon) well depended to a large degree on higher education, which the members of the local elite, including traditional hieratic families, were able to secure for themselves and their offspring. In the case of Ammon's family the great transition from paganism to Christianity boils down to a transition to the bureaucracy of the fourth century. Whether much 'paganism' survived the transition may be doubted, but Ammon's family splendidly succeeded in making the transition to the world of late antiquity. Harpokration and to a lesser extent his brother Ammon may not have made it to the annals of late antiquity yet, but they certainly deserve a place there. When we consider Harpokration's brilliant career in international politics in the years before 348 we cannot but conclude that the 'wheel of fortune' had indeed followed the course predicted by Ammon in the letter to his mother.

Appendix: Chronology of the Archive of Ammon

III	Ammon's codex of the Odyssey (with at least books 9-11) was written (*P.Ammon* I 2)
282	Senpasis, priestess, buys four thirtieths of a house and an aroura in Panopolis (from someone who bought the property a year earlier; see *P.Coll.Youtie* II 71-72 for that sale)
289	Senpasis, priestess, registers the purchase with the help of her husband, Petearbeschinis, priest (*P.Coll.Youtie* II 73)
299	Horion I, *archiprophetes*, registers the property belonging to the *propheteia* (P.Duk.inv. 180)
303	Petearbeschinis, priest, and his wife Senpetechensis, not a priest, register their own property in the Panopolite nome (P.Duk.inv. 182)
?	Ammon reports from Alexandria to his mother in Panopolis on the progress made with getting Horion II appointed to the *propheteia* and on the departure of his brother Harpokration from Alexandria, who leaves three female slaves with Ammon (*P.Ammon* I 3); Ammon writes a petition to the prefect of Egypt for Horion II (*P.Ammon* I 4)
326	Ammon, priest, receives a receipt in someone else's name (P.Duk.inv. 198)
348	Ammon, *scholastikos*, tries to establish his rights, first in Panopolis (*P.Ammon* I 5, a deputation according to which someone else is to represent Ammon before the prefect of Egypt in Alexandria), then in Alexandria itself (*P.Ammon* I 6, a certification to the *katholikos* that Ammon has indeed arrived in Alexandria before the term set by the *katholikos* expired, and *P.Ammon* I 7-25, drafts of several petitions to the *katholikos* and the prefect of Egypt), over a number of slaves his brother left with him in Alexandria a long time ago; Ammon presumably copies a list of philosophers while in Alexandria (*P.Ammon* I 1)
365 or 366	Ammon writes a petition to the prefect of Egypt about legal proceedings (P.Duk.inv. 209)
before 367	Ammon, old and sick, writes a petition to the prefect of Egypt against the encroachment on his property and that of his widowed daughter's orphaned children (P.Duk.inv. 179 verso, 207-208 and 1283)

MALCOLM MOSHER, JR.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD TRADITION AT AKHMIM DURING THE LATE PERIOD

My contribution to the current tome devoted to Panopolis and Akhmim concerns a set of six Books of the Dead produced during the Late Period at Akhmim. These documents are as follows.

P. British Museum 10479
P. Berlin 10477
P. Hildesheim 5248
P. MacGregor
P. *Nesmin* [1]
P. *Twt*[2]

Collectively, these six documents provide evidence for a highly unique tradition of the Book of the Dead at Akhmim. This subject is large and it is impossible to cover in any detail in the current article, and furthermore, Barbara Lüscher has published a study that includes discussions and reproductions of P. Berlin 10477 and P. Hildesheim 5248,[3] and I have written a book on the topic that includes reproductions of P. BM 10479 and P. MacGregor.[4] Rather than duplicate detailed discussions on these six Books of the Dead, I refer you to these books for a thorough treatment of the documents. For the current essay, however, I shall touch briefly on the various unique elements that distinguish the tradition pertaining to these Books of the Dead from Akhmim, suggest dates for the documents, and draw several conclusions regarding the general funerary cult practiced at Akhmim at the time when the documents were produced.

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[1] J. CLÈRE, *Le Papyrus de Nesmin* (Cairo, 1987).
[2] E. BAYER-NIEMEIER et al, *Ägyptische Bildwerke III. Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge* (Frankfurt a. M., 1993).
[3] B. LÜSCHER, *Die Totenbuch Handschrift pBerlin 10477 aus Achmim (mit Photographien des verwandten pHildesheim 5248)* (Wiesbaden, 1999).
[4] M. MOSHER, *Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum, Volume* II. *The Papyrus of Hor (BM EA 10479) with Papyrus MacGregor: The Late-Period Tradition at Akhmim* (London, 2002).

All six documents were prepared with a layout I have previously designated as Style 3, a style most notably represented by the Turin papyrus of Iwefankh.[5] That is, the texts are laid out in formal columns of hieroglyphs. The glyphs face right and the columns as well as the glyphs within the columns are read from right to left. Unlike all other documents utilizing Style 3, however, the texts in the Akhmim documents are arranged in retrograde. Hence, rather than reading the document from the right to the left, the Akhmim documents are read from left to right (Plate IX). Of the over sixty Late Period documents with Style 3 that I have examined thus far, I have found this retrograde arrangement only in the six documents from Akhmim. While it might be premature to suggest that this feature was only used at Akhmim, it certainly is a highly distinctive feature of the six documents under discussion here.

In my *JARCE* article from 1992, I discussed the standard corpus and sequence of spells for the Theban and Memphite traditions during the Late Period.[6] The corpus of spells making up the tradition represented by the six documents from Akhmim is significantly fewer in number, and their sequential arrangement is highly unusual. The textual content and sequential arrangement of spells in P. BM 10479 is listed below. Regarding the sections, each is separated from the next by one of the tall vertical vignettes that interrupts the flow of the text.[7]

P. BM 10479
Section 1: 1- 8[8]
Section 2: 17
Section 3: 17 continued, 18, 22, 21, 22, 23, 24,-25, 43, 26,-27
Section 4: 111-115, 130

[5] For a discussion of the different styles used during the Late Period, see M. MOSHER, 'Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period', *JARCE* 29 (1992). The Turin papyrus of Iwefankh is formally known as P. Turin 1791 and has been published twice: R. LEPSIUS, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig, 1842) and B. DE RACHEWILTZ, *Il Libro dei Morti degli Antichi Egiziani* (Milan, 1958).

[6] MOSHER, 'Theban and Memphite'.

[7] Sections 1 and 2 are separated by the vignette of Spell 16;
Sections 2 and 3 are separated by the vignette of Spell 18;
Sections 3 and 4 are separated by the vignette of Spell 110;
Sections 4 and 5 are separated by the vignette of Spell 125;
Sections 5 and 6 are separated by the vignette of Spell 143;
Sections 6 and 7 are separated by the vignette of Spell 148;
Sections 7 and 8 are separated by the vignette of Spell 151;
Sections 8 and 9 are separated by the vignette of Spell 161.
Dividing the documents up into nine sections is my own means of breaking the textual contents down into subdivisions. Given the consistency found for the content of each section in the Akhmim documents as a whole, it seems possible that the scribes from Akhmim might also have considered their Book of the Dead tradition as consisting of nine sections.

[8] Actually, a short portion of Spells 7 and 8 was repeated as filler for the final two columns of text in this document.

Section 5: 126-130
Section 6: 144, 147
Section 7: 149 and start of 152
Section 8: 152 continued, 154-156, 130
Section 9: 161, 163, 190

In comparing the arrangement found in P. Hildesheim 5248 with that found in P. BM 10479, one can observe that the corpus and sequential arrangement is virtually identical, with only a few minor variations.[9]

P. Hildesheim 5248
Section 1: same, but 17 begun in this section
Section 2: same
Section 3: same but omitted 43
Section 4: same but omitted 115
Section 5: same but started text of 144 in last two columns
Section 6: same but included passage of 145 followed by start of 149 in last six columns
Section 7: same
Section 8: same
Section 9: same

The arrangement in P. Nesmin is virtually the same as that found in P. BM 10479, with a few variations that I suspect were the result of scribal errors; some spells from Section 5 precede the spells of Section 4, with the missing spells from Section 5 added at the end of Section 4.

P. Nesmin
Section 1: same, but passage from Spell 8 lost
Sections 2 and 3: same content but without the separating vignette of Spell 18
Section 5: Spells 126-128 only
Section 4: same but Spells 129, 130, and beginning of 128 added at the end
Section 6: same
Section 7: same, but start of 152 omitted
Section 8: same
Section 9: same

In examining the schematic diagrams of P. MacGregor papyrus and P. Berlin 10477, we once again find the same basic corpus of spells textually represented in P. BM 10479, but with several new variations consistent to both documents.

[9] I have discussed the variations for all the Akhmim documents in detail in the second chapter of my forthcoming book, where I have also given possible explanations for the variations. Therefore, rather than repeat the same text here, I refer you to that publication regarding the variations in P. Hildesheim 5248, P. *Nesmin*, P. *Twt*, P. MacGregor, P. Berlin 10477.

	P. MacGregor	P. Berlin 10477
Section 1:	1-7, and added 15a, 15b	1-7, and added 15a, 15b, 15g, 15i
Section 2:	same	7 cont., 8, and 17 with interpolations[10]
verso:	15b cont., 15g, 15i, 7 cont., and 8	
Section 3:	same, but omitted 22, 21-24, 27[11]	same, but omitted 24-25, 43[12]
Section 4:	same, but added 72 after 114	same, but added 72 after 114
Section 5:	same, but omitted 128-130	same, but omitted 130
Section 6:	same	same
Section 7:	same, but repeated part of 147	similar to P. MacGregor[13]
Section 8:	same but includes repetition[14]	same, but omitted 130
Section 9:	same, but repeated all three	same, but replaced 190 with 130

Both documents contain several spells not found in the others: 15a, 15b, 15g, 15i, and 72.[15] Additionally, both documents repeat the same extended passage from Spell 147 in Section 7. Regarding the different texts of Spell 15, the only spells from the Book of the Dead that I have noted on stelae from Akhmim are 15a, 15b, 15g, and 15i, of which the most common are 15a and 15b. Therefore it is surprising that at least 15a and 15b were not included in P. BM 10479, P. Hildesheim 5248, and P. *Nesmin*. I call your attention to the arrangement of spells 7, 8, and 15 in these two documents. It would appear that when the layout of P. MacGregor was prepared, not enough columns were added for the complete texts of Spells 15b, 15g, and 15i in Section 1. Therefore, these texts were added on the *verso* later, without the formal column delineators. Clearly, the texts must have been considered important enough for a scribe to have taken the trouble to add them on the *verso*, because they could easily have been omitted like other spells were. One must also note the close similarity in the arrangement of these specific texts in P. MacGregor and P. Berlin 10477. If one ignores the vignette of Spell 16 in both documents and if one were to append the texts on the *verso* of P. MacGregor to the end of Section 1, one would have precisely the same peculiar sequence of texts in both documents for Sections 1 and 2: Spells 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, title of 7, 15a, 15b, 15g, 15i, remainder of 7, title of 8, and text of 17.[16] Finally, each of these two

[10] The text of Spell 17 has short interpolations from Spells 130, 27, and 27 in its midst.

[11] Also includes the same passages from Spells 130 and 26 found in the midst of Spell 17 in P. Berlin 10477 from Section 2.

[12] Also contains short portion of Spell 30b after start of Spell 18.

[13] This section begins like P. MacGregor with 149, the start of 152, and the same text from 147, but then continues with 130, 154, more from 147 (most found in Section 6 in P. MacGregor), 130 and 154.

[14] After 156, it has concludes with repeated text from 147, 130, and 154. Note that text from these same spells was added at the end of Section 7 in P. Berlin 10477.

[15] I have translated all known Late Period versions of these spells in my book, thereby enabling one to observe what versions provided the basis for these particular spells in the Akhmim tradition.

[16] A study of the texts of these two documents also reveals other similarities, such as the repetitions of texts from 147, 130, and 154. See MOSHER, *Papyrus of Hor* for further similarities.

documents contains a unique set of *ba*-texts that I have not found in any other documents from any period.[17]

Regarding P. *Twt*, although badly fragmented today, it must have originally been a very short document. Only a fragment of Section 1 survives, containing the text of Spell 1. Whether the other spells of this section were included remains unknown. Sections 2 and 3 follow, although these were highly abbreviated, with less than 50% of the text of Spell 17 added. All other spells from these sections were omitted. Section 4 follows, although only the texts of Spells 111 and 112 survive. Sections 5-8 were completely omitted and the document concludes with the texts of Section 9, although the text of Spell 190 consists only of the opening phrase. Another indication of the short length of the document can be determined by the vignette of Spell 17. While the beginning of the illustration is lost, it extended from Section 2 down to the very end of Section 9, followed only by the short illustration of Spell 162. Thus, the vignette of Spell 17 extended across the length of most of the document.

While some variations between the six documents exist, one can nevertheless recognize a common corpus of spells textually represented in the Akhmim tradition. The same can be said for the sequential arrangement of the spells, by section, including a variety of its peculiar anomalies. I shall cite just one example here: the text of Spell 22 does not actually occur twice in Section 3. Rather, the text is twisted about such that the beginning and middle portions of Spell 22 occur first, without title. The complete text of Spell 21 occurs next, followed by the title of 22 and then the concluding passage from 22. This arrangement is found in each of the documents that contain the spell and is particular to the Akhmim tradition.

With respect to the quality of the texts in the six documents, they are utterly corrupt. In comparing the Akhmim texts against the standardized versions from Thebes and Memphis, one can observe all sorts of errors: miscopied signs, garbled words, dittographies, haplographies, hieratic to hieroglyphic conversion errors. Some signs, words, or phrases occasionally face the wrong direction, and words are sometimes randomly written backwards, as if the scribes suffered from occasional dyslexia. From Spell 144 onward, the texts are further corrupted with the omission of random signs, words, phrases, and even short passages from the texts. The end result is that the texts from Spell 144 onward are so thoroughly mangled that they not infrequently appear to be an unintelligible sequence of characters, words, or short phrases. Throughout, it is also absolutely clear that the scribes had no idea what the texts said or what they were supposed to say. Most spells can be identified today only because enough of the texts are recognizable when compared against the standardized texts from Thebes and Memphis.

[17] As my interests pertain primarily to Late Period Books of the Dead, I have not dealt with the *ba*-texts in my book. See H. BEINLICH, *Das Buch vom Ba* (Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 4, Wiesbaden, 2000).

What is of considerable interest, however, is that the texts in the Akhmim papyri are virtually identical to each other. That is, the same basic corruption per spell is found in each of the documents, which makes it clear that this general corruption was not the result of carelessness on the part of an individual scribe who prepared a given document. Rather, the master manuscripts used to produce the individual documents all contained the same corruption. As each of the six documents under discussion here was produced, the scribe responsible for the document simply copied what he found in his master copy. Hence, all six have the same corruption. This is not to say that the individual scribe did not also make mistakes. Each document contains the typical types of errors found when copying from one document to another, but these mistakes are minor in comparison to the major corruption that was clearly present in the master manuscripts.

Of equal interest is the fact that P. MacGregor and P. Berlin 10477 contain many minor variations in their texts that differ from the texts in P. BM 10479, P. *Nesmin*, P. Hildesheim 5248 5348, and P. *Twt*. Because these variations are identical in both P. MacGregor and P. Berlin 10477, it is certain that they were not produced from the same master manuscripts used to produce the other documents. This evidence enables one to identify two subtraditions at Akhmim that I have identified as Subtradition A and Subtradition B. Subtradition A was used to produce P. BM 10479, P. *Nesmin*, P. Hildesheim 5248 5348, and P. *Twt*; Subtradition B was used to produce P. MacGregor and P. Berlin 10477. Support for the recognition of these two subtraditions has already been given further above concerning the corpus and sequential arrangement. The documents of Subtradition B contain several unique features not found in the documents of Subtradition A — the inclusion of the texts of Spells 15 and 72, the repetition of the passage from 147 after 149, and the same mangled order for the texts of Spells 7, 8, and 15. Also, each includes a short anomalous statement following the text of Spell 130 in Section 4, and each includes the unique and lengthy set of *ba*-texts.

A study of the vignettes provides further information about this general tradition at Akhmim. I have much to say on this topic in my forthcoming book, but I shall limit myself to a single comment here. There are several instances where features involving vignettes point to the two subtraditions. I shall cite just one. The documents of Subtradition A have the vignettes of the spells associated with amulets presented in descending sequence — 159, 158, 157, 156, 155, whereas the documents of Subtradition B present them in ascending sequence — 155, 156, 157, 158, 159.

As a general comment, the vignettes, like the texts, are often corrupt. In the papyri for the two women, the genders of the various figures are often incorrect. In P. MacGregor, which was owned by a woman, the deceased is represented as a woman in only four of its 53 vignettes. In P. Berlin 10477, also owned by a woman, an attempt was made to portray the gender of the deceased correctly, but here the artist often had no idea which figures represented the deceased, priests, mourners, and gods. Thus, in 19 of its 79 vignettes, the

deceased still incorrectly appears as a man.

This confusion on who represented what can be observed in many locations in all six documents. The genders of priests and deities are occasionally confused. For vignettes that involved multiple scenes such as those associated with Spells 1 and 17, the sequences of those scenes are often jumbled. The orientation of some illustrations does not always conform to the orientation of the texts, and many vignettes occur in descending sequence instead of ascending. As with the texts, it is not unreasonable to question whether anyone fully understood what most vignettes signified, and in some places it clearly appears that the artists had no conception of the relationship of texts to the illustrations.

Nevertheless, irrespective of the confused nature of many of the illustrations, the fact that the same basic confusion per vignette is found in all documents is an indication that all derived from a common source. Like the texts, a number of features involving the illustrations are unique to either Subtradition A or B.

Several other points regarding the general tradition at Akhmim and its two subtraditions deserve mention. First, it is of interest to observe that the two subtraditions appear to be related to the gender of the deceased; Subtradition A was used for men and B was used for women. Is this just a coincidence, or was A actually reserved for men and B for women? While the latter might seem unlikely, the usage of the specific subtradition does correspond to the gender of the deceased in the six known documents from Akhmim. Perhaps if other documents from Akhmim come to light, they may support or negate the notion that usage of subtradition was based on the gender of the deceased.

Secondly, there is no question that the Akhmim tradition was derived from a badly damaged source document or set of source documents. This would account for the corrupt text, where portions of text in the source document were either missing or had perhaps become so stained that the signs could not be read clearly, with the result that the Akhmim texts contain numerous instances of missing words, phrases, statements, as well as contain hieroglyphs that were clearly best guesses as to what the original signs were. To support this, I shall cite just one example here, and this involves the arrangement of the texts of Spells 21 and 22. Clearly the source document upon which the Akhmim texts were based consisted of three fragments:

no. 1 - text of Spell 21 followed by title of Spell 22;
no. 2 - beginning and middle portions of Spell 22;
no. 3 - conclusion of Spell 22.

Because the master scribes could not read the texts, they had no idea how to reassemble the three fragments and were forced to give it their best guess, which was incorrect. The fragments were reassembled in the wrong sequence: no. 2, no. 1, no. 3. This can be the only explanation for the twisted arrangement of the texts of these two spells.

With respect to the dating of these documents, the P. Berlin 10477 and P. MacGregor papyri can be linked to a pair of funerary stelae.[18] In his study of the funerary stele, Peter Munro identified a variety of typologies and he dated his various types. According to his criteria, the MacGregor papyrus should be dated to the early third century and the Berlin to the late third century. To this, several observations can be made. If one ignores the Books of the Dead for the moment and one assesses the criteria used by Munro for determining the dates of his typologies of stelae, one can observe that he focused only on certain graphical elements, omitting other graphical evidence and ignoring the texts altogether. Secondly, he based his chronological sequence of types on limited and highly controversial prosopographical evidence that can easily be refuted.

Now, bringing the Books of the Dead into consideration, let me make several important comments. First, in spite of the corruption found in the texts, it is clear that they were based on a tradition found from the second century onward, a tradition best exemplified by P. Turin 1791. Thus, these Akhmim Books of the Dead and the corresponding stelae could not have been produced during the third century; they had to have been produced either in the second century or later.

Secondly, excellent Books of the Dead in every aspect were being produced in Thebes and Memphis from the late fourth century down through the second century, and a third center seemingly based in Hermopolis was also producing excellent Books of the Dead throughout the third century and into the second. Therefore, how could such a corrupt tradition for the Book of the Dead be in use at Akhmim during the second century when excellent traditions were available elsewhere?

Thirdly, while I have cited only a single example here, numerous criteria can be cited to support the claim that the Book of the Dead tradition at Akhmim was based on badly damaged source documents. Why should this be the case when excellent archives were available in the second century at Thebes, Memphis, and possibly Hermopolis?

In response to these questions, I think there is no question that the Books of the Dead, the stelae, and quite likely the bulk of other traditional Late Period funerary material from Akhmim should be dated to the latter part of the first century BC, at the earliest. Toward the latter part of the first century BC one finds corrupt Books of the Dead in both the north and the south. Indeed, by 80 BC the Theban archive undoubtedly lay in ruins, due to the disastrous revolt that took place there. Theban source documents from 80 BC onward would most likely have come from opened graves and would quite likely have been damaged, which is in fact precisely what the state of the source documents for the Akhmim tradition must have been. Therefore, while we have no absolutely irrefutable evidence to date the Akhmim documents to the late first century, this is the earliest time that makes sense. Thus,

[18] P. Berlin 10477 was linked to Bremen 619 by P. MUNRO, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (ÄF 25, Glückstadt, 1973). I have linked P. MacGregor to C.G. 22238, which was published by A. KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines* (CGC, Cairo, 1905).

I think the dating for the stelae and other funerary objects needs to be completely re-evaluated in light of the Books of the Dead. Indeed, there is no question that the stelae need to be completely re-examined, taking into account not only all the graphical elements but also the texts, which I consider to have greater importance with respect to dating.

At any rate, with regard to the Books of the Dead from Akhmim, the unintelligibility of the texts and the confusion apparent in so many of the vignettes attests to the blind faith these men and women at Akhmim had with respect to the age-old funerary tradition, a tradition apparently revived at Akhmim in the late first century BC.[19] Obviously the texts were not read with comprehension, nor was anyone entirely certain of who and what was represented in many of the vignettes. Given the lengths of these documents, however, which were undoubtedly purchased at considerable expense to the owners, there is no question that the owners of these documents believed, or at least hoped, that the magic of the written word and the accompanying illustrations would be powerful enough to deliver eternal life to them.

[19] No funerary stelae from Akhmim can be dated with any assurance prior to the first century BC in spite of Munro's claims. Therefore, if my hypothesis is correct, it would seem that the Books of the Dead, the stelae, and the other traditional funerary material from Akhmim were produced during the first century BC. Following this line of reasoning, the absence of any funerary material from the fourth through the second centuries BC would indicate that a revival of traditional pharaonic funerary practices took place in the first century BC. I argue for the latter part of the first century and I have further to say on this topic in my forthcoming book.

TITO ORLANDI

THE LIBRARY OF THE MONASTERY OF SAINT SHENUTE AT ATRIPE[1]

The monastery, the library, and the scriptorium

The Egyptian monastery which is currently called the White Monastery[2] was founded around the middle of the IVth century[3] possibly by a certain ⲡⲥⲟⲗ (Pcol), though his name appears only in the *Life of Shenute* by Besa, not a reliable source. Shenute himself, speaking of his predecessors, mentions a "first father" and a "second father", without an explicit name.[4] In any case the first father (possibly called Pcol) was a direct disciple of Pachom, always according to Shenute, and founded a monastery by himself for unknown reasons.

After his death, and a brief interval in which Ebonh was possibly in charge, Shenute became its head.[5] Under his active and energetic leadership the monastery became, inter alia, the centre of the Coptic literary culture, as Shenute himself became by far the greatest Coptic writer,[6] and also promoted a vast work of translation of Greek patristical texts.[7] We can be reasonably sure that the monastery had a library from the beginning, and possibly also a *scriptorium*. But even the location of the library, in the building which still exists, is not clear. It is true that the chamber where most of the manuscripts were found by Maspero

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[1] I shall give a full reference of the most important bibliography only; for precisions on the location of the codices and fragments the reader should consult the web page of the "Corpus dei manoscritti copti letterari", http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/~cmcl. In this contribution I give a general sketch of the situation; to enter into details would be tantamount to producing a history of the Coptic literature.

[2] The correct name is "monastery of Atripe" or "of apa Shenute" (ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲣⲓⲡⲉ, ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ ϣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, cf. the colophons cited below), but the late denomination has become a common standard. Cf. S. EMMEL, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* (5 vols., Ann Arbor, 1993), p. 16-17.

[3] G. LEFEBVRE, 'Dair al Abiad', in *DACL* 4(1), col. 459-502, based on the date of the pottery in W.M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Athribis* (London, 1908), p. 13-14. Cf. U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Les couvents près de Sohâg* (Milano, 1925-6) and R.-G. COQUIN etc., 'Dayr Anba Shinudah', in: *CE* 3, p. 761-770.

[4] Cf. EMMEL, ibid.

[5] In 385, following the chronology established by S. EMMEL, ibid. For the new monastery and church, and the inscription for Candidianus, cf. LEFEBVRE and *CE*, cit.

[6] Cf. T. ORLANDI, 'Shenoute d'Atripe', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, t. XIV (Paris, 1989), col. 797-804.

[7] There is no direct evidence of this, but already J. LEIPOLDT, 'Geschichte der koptischen Litteratur', in C. BROCKELMANN (etc.), *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients* (Leipzig, 1907), 131-182, made that suggestion.

(cp. below) is known to be the one where significant inscriptions were readable until the early XXth century (cf. below; now they have disappeared). Lefebvre gives rather a detailed collocation:[8]

> passant enfin à l'extrémité nord-est de la basilique, nous retrouvons la pièce dont j'ai parlé plus haut, [499] qui, située à gauche de l'abside principale, est construite au-dessous d'une crypte et mène à un escalier. L'escalier est bien conservé. Il monte jusqu'aux terrasses et passe, au premier étage, devant une chambrette, «dont les murs, dit Amélineau, couverts de bizarres inscriptions, attestent que plus d'une fois l'ennemi a rongé le coeur des moines successeurs de Schenoudi». C'est dans cette chambrette, je crois, qu'ont été trouvés, en 1883, les quatre mille feuillets de parchemin . . .

But in earlier times, as Lefebvre rightly notes,

> la riche «librairie» du Deir . . . ne tenait pas tout entière dans cette étroite cellule. Où donc était la bibliothèque du couvent? On l'ignore, mais je serai [501] fort tenté de la placer dans une de ces salles . . . du premier étage . . .

On the other hand, Crum[9] is in favour of the identification of the small room (with the inscriptions, cf. below) with the ancient library. I think that Lefebvre's hypothesis is more correct, and that the small chamber became the repository of the codices only when they were no longer in use.

Shenute himself is strangely reticent of the library in his works: he often alludes to ϫⲁⲣⲧⲏⲥ and ⲁⲱⲱⲙⲉ from which he takes quotations, but as far as I know he never mentions a library. But this is perhaps due to the fact that the existence of a library was obvious, and the first witness that we know is found in the *Life of Apa Abraham of Pbow*:[10]

> Quod attinet ad sanctum hunc Anbâ Afrahamum, ipse ad coenobium Abû Senûdah, in montem 'Adribah, migravit, ibique commorans describere coepit regulas sancti Abû Senûdah et in chartas transferre; tum integre descriptas utribus inclusit, quos obsignatos ad monasterium sancti Abû Masis misit, monachos hortatus ut eosdem sollicite custodirent.

A late witness of the library (which probably was already in the small chamber) is Abu Salih (or whoever is the author, ed. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* [Oxford, 1895], fol. 82b-83b).

[8] LEFEBVRE, cit., cols. 498-9. For an adjourned plan of the building, see the article by GROSSMANN in this volume.

[9] W.E. CRUM, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), p. xi.

[10] The text existed in Coptic, but only fragments remain. The Arabic text of the *Synaxarion* is an abbreviated translation. J. FORGET, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* (6 vols.: CSCO 47, 48, 49, 67, 78, 90, Louvain, 1905-1926); cf. vol. I p. 401.

In any case the library became in time by far the largest Coptic library ever known, and probably contained copies of most of the ecclesiastical works existing in the Coptic (Sahidic) language. The conditions of the library and the *scriptorium* in the IX-XIth centuries are known from the inscriptions found in the small chamber, and from the interesting *colophons* of the codices written in this period, where there is evidence that many of the codices were produced in the Monastery itself, that others were commissioned elsewhere to be donated to the Monastery, and that others came from other libraries.[11] Of the inscriptions unfortunately nothing remains, but they were copied by Canon W.T. Oldfield when he visited the monastery, and from that copy they were published by Crum.[12] It seems opportune to republish them, reshaped according to one possible interpretation of the content, because Crum limited himself to reproducing the notes of Oldfield. The basic assumption of our interpretation, also implicit in Crum's translation, is that the writer placed the text in vertical columns, while the copy was made according to horizontal lines.[13] We have added a few notes on the possible identification of the texts. This is the result:

North wall

ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲁⲉⲩⲁⲛⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡⲏ .ⲛ̅ⲑ̅ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲛⲟⲩ
[59 copies of the *tetraevangelion*]

ⲧⲣⲁⲉⲩⲁⲛⲅⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲟⲉⲓϩ ·ⲓ̅
[possibly 10 volumes not yet bound]

ⲛⲕⲁⲑⲟⲗⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲁϫⲓⲥ – ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲁϫⲓⲥ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ

East wall

ⲛⲗⲟⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲉⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲟⲥⲩⲛⲅⲛⲟⲥⲟⲩ (?)
ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲕ̅ⲍ̅
ⲡⲁⲱⲙⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛϩⲩⲥⲁⲱⲣⲓⲁ [ⲛ]ⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲁⲛⲁⲟⲥ

[11] Cf. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte* (Bibl. du Muséon 1, Louvain, 1929).

[12] W.E. CRUM, 'Inscriptions from Shenoute's Monastery', *JTS* 5 (1904) p. 552-569.

[13] Also I have taken off the invocations of *papa* Claudius, probably the author of the inscriptions:
(North wall) ⲡⲓϩⲩⲕⲉ ⲡⲡⲁ ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲩⲩ ⲡⲁⲗⲏⲩ ⲕⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
(East wall) ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲡⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲩⲕⲉ ⲡⲡⲁ ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲩⲩ ⲡⲁⲗⲏⲩ [ⲙ]ⲓⲥⲭⲓⲛ [ⲕⲟ]ⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
(West wall) ⲡⲓϩⲩⲕⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲗⲁⲩⲧⲉ ⲩⲩ ⲙⲙⲓⲥⲭⲓⲛ ⲕⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟ[ⲗ]

West wall

ⲛⲁ<ⲓ> ⲛⲉ ⲛⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲛ[ⲛⲉ]ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ
[general title, specified below?]
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲏⲥⲁ
ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣ̄ⲭ̄ ⲥⲉⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲏⲛⲑⲓⲟⲥ
ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲕⲱⲗⲟⲙⲃⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲓⲛ
ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲗⲗⲓ[ⲧⲏⲥ]
ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲩⲗⲓⲁⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ [ⲁ]ⲃⲣⲁϩⲁ[ⲙ]
ⲛⲉⲥ̣ⲧ̣ ·ⲓ̣ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ[. . .]
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲍⲉⲛⲟⲃⲓⲟⲥ
[ⲁⲡ]ⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ
ⲕⲉⲣⲓⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲓ̣[. . .]
ⲡϩⲩⲙⲱⲉ [read ⲡϩⲁⲙⲱⲉ ?]

[ⲛ]ⲛⲉ[ⲓⲱⲧ] ⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲏ
[8 books of Shenute]

[Latin characters in Crum:] Apa Paul, Apa Besa, Apa Shenute

ⲁⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲑ ⲡϩⲩⲕⲉ
[Matthew the Poor]

ⲛⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲱ[ⲙ] ⲕ̄
[20 copies of the *Lives* of Pachomius]
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲡ[ⲓⲙⲁ ?]
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲱⲉⲥⲏⲥ ⲃ̄
[2 copies of the Life of Moyses of Abydos]
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲉⲡⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲱⲧⲟⲣⲟ[ⲥ]
ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲉⲣⲙⲓⲙⲉ

ⲁⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ ⲙⲛ ϩⲟⲣ[ⲥⲓⲥ]ⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲑⲉⲟⲧⲟⲣⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉⲥ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲣ̄ⲥ̄ⲃⲏⲧⲏⲣⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲏⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ[ⲡ]ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲛⲟⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ
ⲙⲛ [ⲡⲉ]ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲱⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
[possibly a homily on the resurrection of the body, and the life of Shenute, of Besa. The homily is not otherwise known]

. . . ship . . . Raphael [= Cyrilli Alex. *De sanctuario Raphaelis*]
[ⲍ]ⲁ[ⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ] ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ

ⲛⲃⲓⲟⲥ [ⲛ]ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ

ⲁⲁⲩⲉⲓⲁ ⲡⲉⲣⲣⲟ ·ⲓⲅ̄
[13 copies of the Psalms]

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ
[miscellaneous volumes? Crum suggested the Councils]

I suppose that the author of the inscriptions was the selfmentioning *papa* Claudios, who dressed a rough inventory of the codices placed upon the shelves after (or when?) they were brought in the small chamber.

Concerning the colophons, we may note that Van Lantschoot is exhaustive in the study of the scribes, the provenance, and the donation of the manuscripts, but does not study the relationship between the colophons and the content of the manuscripts. This remains to be done.[14] Also Van Lanschoot treats in the same way the final colophons and some indications of titles or scribal annotations, which are different phenomena.

In the following table we list the manuscripts which have preserved a colophon, with the call number of the CMCL (cf. below), the number in the Van Lantschoot sequence, the date, and the provenance: place of writing, and place of donation.

sig. cmcl	v.Lant.	date	written	donated
MONB.AB	(102)	XII	--	Atripe
MONB.EF	(070)	1002-3	s. Theodore at Shotep	s. Severus at Erebe then Atripe
MONB.EQ	(053)	939-40	Touton	Atripe
MONB.FA	(092)	XI	--	Atripe
MONB.FO	(066)	XII	--	x then Atripe

[14] Further on those lines COQUIN in the article in the *CE*, cit.

MONB.FS	(052)	923-933	Touton	Atripe
MONB.GO	(090)	X	--	(Atripe)
MONB.HY	(075)	920-950	Atripe	Atripe
MONB.IA	(096a)	XI	--	(Atripe)
MONB.IL	(061)	1002-3	--	x then Atripe
MONB.IY	(086)	995-6	--	(Atripe)
MONB.JA	(074)	XI	Atripe	Atripe
MONB.LZ	(079)	XI	--	Atripe
MONB.MU	(095)	1016	--	(Atripe)
MONB.XG	(089)	X	--	(Atripe)
MONB.XH	(091)	X	--	(Atripe)
MONB.XN	(068)	1000	--	s. Shenute at Siout then Atripe
MONB.YW	(072)	X	--	
MONB.ZZ	(081)	1118	Atripe	Atripe
BL.ADD14740A.16				
BL.OR01320	(062)	1005-6	--	s. Mary at Tahanhor (then Atripe)
BL.OR03581B.87	(100)	1036	--	Atripe
BL.OR03581B.88-89	(080)	1112	Atripe	Atripe
BL.OR08808	(060b)	XI	--	--
CC.8091	(125)			
CC.9255.1-3	(087)	X	--	(Atripe)
CC.9296	(101)	1170	--	x then Atripe
CP.B40.1-2	(076)	XI	Atripe	Atripe
CU.ADD1876.24-25	(060a)	1000	--	
LG.KNS43.1-4	(056)	952-3	--	s. Cosma in the Fayum then Atripe
LL.55				
LR.040.1-8	(067)	XII	--	x then Atripe
LR.126.1-3	(073)	1000	--	--
MP.I.1.B0295.1-2	(057)	961-2	--	Atripe
MP.I.1.B0655	(058)	979-80	--	x then Atripe
MR.112	(103)	XII	--	(Atripe)
PN.129.03.171	(093)	XI		Atripe
PN.129.14.134	(096)	XI	--	Atripe

PN.131.3.39	(055)	939-40	Touton	Atripe
PN.131.5.028	(078)	1100	Atripe	Atripe
PN.131.7.17	(064)	XI	--	x then Atripe
PN.131.7.35	(077)	1091	Atripe	Atripe
PN.132.1.66	(077)	1091	Atripe	Atripe
PN.132.1.67	(051)	927-8	Touton	Atripe
PN.132.1.68	(098)	1031-2	--	s. Pshemmao at Shmin then Atripe
PN.132.1.69	(104)	1190	--	(Atripe)
PN.132.1.70	(085)	985-6	--	Atripe
PN.132.1.71				
PN.132.1.72	(083)	957-8	--	(Atripe)
PN.132.1.73	(069)	XI	s. Mary of Karbone	x then Atripe
PN.132.1.74	(082)	930	--	--
PN.161.042				
WK.00351	(054)	939-40	Touton	Atripe
WK.09146	(094)	XI	--	(Atripe)
WK.09436	(063)	1006-7	--	x then Atripe
WK.09480				
WK.09648				

The following table lists the colophon of manuscripts from other libraries, especially St. Michael in the Fayum and St. Mercurius at Tbo (Edfu) for a comparison:

sig.cmcl	v.Lant.	date	written	donated
MICH.AB	(017)	892-3	--	--
MICH.AD	(039)	IX	--	--
MICH.AE	(012)	861-2	Touton	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AH	(024)	IX	--	(s. Michael of Sopehes)
MICH.AI	(025)	IX	--	--
MICH.AJ	(026)	IX	--	s. George of Narmuthis then s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AL	(027)	IX	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AM	(023)	894-5	Touton	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AN	(018)	892-3	--	s. Michael of Sopehes

MICH.AO	(007)	901	s. Michael of Sopehes	--
MICH.AP	(031)	905-6	Touton	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AR	(028)	IX	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AS	(046)	903-4	Touton	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AT	(015)	892-3	Ptepouhar	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AU	(020)	892-3	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AV	(033)	IX	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.AW	(019)	892-3	Touton	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BA	(045)	902-3	Perpnoute	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BB	(022)	894-5	s. Michael of Sopehes	--
MICH.BC	(011)	861	s. Michael of Sopehes	--
MICH.BD	(003)	842	Kalamon	s. Michael
MICH.BE	(032)	IX	--	--
MICH.BF	(016)	892-3	Ptepouhar	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BG	(030)	IX	--	--
MICH.BH	(050)	913-4	Touton	s. Maria of x then s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BI	(013)	871-2	--	Narmuthis
MICH.BJ	(036)	IX	--	--
MICH.BL	(001)	822-3	--	s. Michael
MICH.BP	(005) + (006)	848	s. Michael of Sopehes	--
MICH.BQ	(044)	X	--	--
MICH.BR	(008) + (009)	855	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BS	(029)	IX	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BT	(037)	IX	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BV	(034) + (041)	IX	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BW	(014)	889-90	Touton	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.BX	(035)	IX	--	s. Epima of Narmuthis
MICH.BY	(043)	X	--	--
MICH.BZ	(004)	844	Kalamon	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.CA	(049)	X	--	--
MICH.CB	(021)	894-5	Narmouthis	s. Michael of Sopehes

MICH.CC	(038)	IX	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MICH.CD	(048)	X	--	s. Michael of Sopehes
MERC.AA	(115)			
MERC.AB	(065)	XI	--	Pcolpef then s. Mercurius
MERC.AC	(119)			
MERC.AD	(060)	989-990	--	--
MERC.AE	(121)			
MERC.AF	(117)			
MERC.AH	(107) + (059)	988-9	Fayum	s. Mercurius of Tbo
MERC.AI	(112)	--		
MERC.AL	(084)	--	--	--
MERC.AM	(113)			
MERC.AN	(116)			
MERC.AO	(122)			
MERC.AQ	(120)			
MERC.AR	(111)			
MERC.AS	(109)			
MERC.AT	(118)			
MERC.AU	(110)			
MERC.AV	(097)	1031	--	--
MERC.BB	(114)			
BL.OR06807.6	(060c)	XI	--	--
BL.OR06954.33				
BL.OR07594				
BL.PAP.XXXVI.20	(123)			
CC.-HAMULI-MS.3811	(042)	900	--	--
CC.-HAMULI-MS.3819	(047)	X	Touton	s. Michael of Sopehes
CC.-HAMULI-MS.3825	(040)	IX	--	--
CC.-HAMULI-MS.3826	(010)	856	s. Michael of Sopehes	
NM.663.01	(002)	820-850	--	s. Michael
NM.664B.04				
NM.667				

The codices

If we want to confine ourselves to the evidence which is available, the typical codex that we know certainly comes from the library of the monastery of Atripe is written in the IX-XIth centuries and is made of parchment. Some of the codices were produced in the *scriptorium* of the monastery, many others in different Egyptian *scriptoria*, especially at ⲦⲞⲨⲦⲰⲚ (Touton, Tebtynis) in the Fayum, and donated to the monastery. Touton also produced codices for other sanctuaries of the Fayum, but not, as it seems, for St. Mercurius of Tbo. It is obvious that such codices are also witness to the older condition of the library, being in large part copies of older codices which had to be replaced after long use. But some important questions remain open.

First, whether in this later period the scribes, who were also scholars, simply copied the texts, when and because the codices were no longer easily legible, or also made deliberate choices, omitting texts which were not read anymore for whatever reason. There are texts which are not part of the White Monastery remains (always allowing for the possible loss of fragments, or some future new identification), but may well have been part of the library in earlier times. We are alluding to works like the *Vita Aphou*, John Chrysostom *In Susannam et Ioseph*, Athanasius *De parabola vineae*, Basil *De misericordia et iudicio*, and *De templo Salomonis*, Melito of Sardis *De anima et corpore*, and John of Shmun *In Antonium.*

Secondly, it is possible that the scribes, when producing new codices, also reworked some of the texts, creating new texts from pieces of existing ones. This is well known in the Byzantine world, and for Coptic literature the operation of building special corpora for liturgical use (in broad sense), making some changes in the texts, and also producing some new ones, is apparent already in the VIII-IXth centuries. We refer to works like the ps. Macarius of Tkou *Panegyric of Dioscorus*, the *Life of Lucius and Longinus*, Athanasius *In Leviticum*, in all of which works the trace of reworking of previously existing texts is evident. It is possible that part of this work was carried out inside the Monastery of Shenute. It is interesting to note that traces of the reworking in the White Monastery of some texts are found in works like the *History of the Church* and the *Life of John of Lykopolis*, where some parts concerning the intervention of Shenute in some circumstances were probably written and inserted in the White Monastery.

Another open question is what happened to the codices of papyrus which must have been at least part of the older library. This question is mixed in some way with that of the preservation of codices of the IV-Vth centuries, whether in papyrus or in parchment. In fact there are only two groups of documents which may be taken into consideration when we try to assess the eventual preservation of some papyrus codices from the White Monastery: first some very old codices (IVth century), written in the so called Achmimic dialect (and with them some in parchment, like the Minor Prophets or the Apocalypse); then some fragments from papyrus codices apparently from the VIII-IXth centuries, now kept in the Vienna

collection.

The idea that a group of IV(-V)th century, mostly Achmimic, manuscripts came from the monastery of Shenute was common among a group of scholars of the early XXth century.[15] One may quote Steindorff, already in 1899:[16]

> Dem berümte Kloster des Amba Schenûda bei Sohâg, dessen umfangreiche Bücherschätze schon im vorigen Jahrhundert eine Fülle wertvoller koptischer Manuskripte an europäischer Bibliotheken hergegeben haben. . . entstammen auch die hier veröffentlichten Texte. . .

Each of them referred to some individual manuscript; but generally explicit was, already in 1905, W.E. Crum (*Catalogue British Museum*, cit., p. xi-xii):

> The library of the White Monastery existed however before the time when copies upon parchment had replaced the earlier papyrus volumes. Shenoute's frequent citations of the 'papyri' (ϧⲁⲣⲧⲏⲥ) existing in his and his predecessors' time [Zoega p. 389, Leipoldt p. 100], refer to that earlier state of things, little if any remnants of which however have survived. The papyri in the archaic Ahmim dialect, spoken presumably in the surrounding district until Shenoute made the Sa'idic fashionable, are said upon good authority to have come from this monastery; but no others have been traced to it.

The scholar who most strongly asserted the origin from the Monastery of Shenute of a group of ancient papyrus codices, brought in Europe at the end of the XIXth century, was C. Schmidt, giving credit to pieces of information coming from various sources. It is important to quote the relevant passages in his writings, because they contain an appreciation of the cultural activity of Shenute and his monks, which is unusual for Schmidt's time and cultural milieu.[17]

> [After the Pachomian monasteries. . .] Ein zweites geistiges Zentrum bildete sich in dem nördlich an die Thebais anschließenden Gau von Schmin-Panopolis als dort [. . .] bald nach der Mitte des IV. Jhs zwei neue Koinobien, die von der Pachomiuskongregation unabhängig waren, nämlich das «Rote Kloster» des Pschai und das «Weiße Kloster» des Pgôl auf dem westlichen Nilufer beim heutigen Sohâg.
>
> Wir sehen aus dieser Zusammenstellung, wie gerade die urchristliche Literatur in diesen Klöstern Pflege gefunden hat, und das legt ein glänzendes Zeugnis für den wissenschaftliche Geist seiner Insassen ab. Wir besitzen in diesen größenteils auf Papyrus erhaltenen Schriften die älteste Übersetzungsliteratur der Kopten überhaupt, da sie alle aus dem IV. und V. Jh. stammen. Freilich sind dies nur einige Trümmer aus einer viel umfangreicheren Bibliothek, denn der grösste Teil der Literatur im achmimischen Dialekt ist zugrunde gegangen, als dieser Lokaldialekt aufhörte, die offizielle Kirchensprache der Provinz zu sein. [. . .] sie bildeten

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[15] Cf. T. ORLANDI, *Papiri copti di contenuto teologico* (Wien, 1974).

[16] G. STEINDORFF, *Die Apokalypse des Elias. Eine unbekannte Apokalypse, und Brüchstucke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (TU 17.3A, Leipzig, 1899).

[17] C. SCHMIDT, 'Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia', *ZNW* 24 (1925), 218-240, esp. p. 227-8.

> stumme Zeugen einer ehrwürdigen Vergangenheit und sind als solche erst wieder aus dem Staube der Bibliothek aus Tageslicht gekommen [footnote: Es steht fest, daß eine Reihe der vorher genannten MS. aus der Bibliothek des Schenute-Klosters stammt.]

Cf. also *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung* (TU 32.1, Leipzig, 1908), p. 5:

> Neuere Nachforschungen haben aber ergeben, daß alle 3 Stücke aus dem berühmten «weißen Kloster» des Schenute . . . stammen, wo man bei einer Restaurierung des Klosters auf das alte Bibliothekszimmer gestoßen ist und Veranlassung genommen hat, die vorgefundenen Mss. an verschiedene Antikenhändler zu verkaufen.

The manuscripts in question may be listed as follows:

title	dialect or language	place	editor	material
Minor Prophets	achmimic	Vienna Pap. Samml. K11000	Till	parchment
Ep. Clementis	achmimic	Berlin St.Bibl. Fol 3065	Schmidt	papyrus
Ep. Clementis and John	achmimic	Strasbourg Univ. Pap. 362-385	Rösch	papyrus
Sapientia Salomonis	achmimic	Berlin Staatsbibl. (*)	unpublished	papyrus
Epistula Apostolorum	achmimic	Cairo IFAO	Schmidt	papyrus
Apoc. Eliae et Sophoniae	achmimic	monb.ax (Paris and Berlin)	Steindorff	papyrus
Apoc. Eliae	sahidic	Paris Nat. P135.26-33	Steindorff	papyrus
Exodus, Sirach	achmimic	Paris Nat P135.1-7	Bouriant + Lacau	papyrus
II Macc.	achmimic	Paris Nat P135.8-10	Bouriant + Lacau	papyrus
Luke	achmimic	Paris Nat P135.11	Bouriant + Lacau	papyrus
Acta Pauli	(sub-) achmimic	Heidelberg Univ. Pap. 1	Schmidt	papyrus
Cyril, Ep. Fest. 1 Homily	achmimic	Vienna Pap. Samml. K10157	Till	papyrus
Apocalypse	sahidic	monb.he (Berlin, Paris)	Goussen	parchment
Psalms	sahidic-greek	Vienna Pap. Samml. K 10999	Wessely	papyrus
Shenute, Homily	sahidic-greek	monb.xp (London, Oxford)	Lucchesi	parchment

(*) It is to be noted that this ms. of the Sapientia Salomonis mentioned by Schmidt, *Clem.Brief*, p. 5-7, and Carl Schmidt, (Pierre Lacau), *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* (TU 43, Leipzig, 1919), has not been considered by later scholars (e.g. W.C. Till, 'Die koptischen Versionen der Sapientia Salomonis', *Biblica* 36 (1955), 51-70, and P. Nagel, *CE* 8, p. 19-27: 'Akhmimic').

We may note that Carl Wessely, introducing the fragmentary Vienna codex of the Psalms (wk.01231-8), *Sahidisch-griechische Psalmenfragmente* (Sitzungsber. Akad. Wien 155.1, Wien, 1908), p. 8, expressed many doubts about its provenance:

> Der Fundort soll Achmîm sein. Diese Angabe rührt wohl von Theodor Graf, dem Verkäufer aus zweiter Hand her, . . . Aber abgesehen davon, daß mit dem Namen Achmîm viel Unfug getrieben wurde, findet sich in den erhaltenen Resten nicht der geringste Anhaltspunkt sprachlicher oder paläographischer Natur vor, der auf einen Zusammenhang mit Achmîm hindeuten würde.

On the other hand, Viktor Stegemann, *Die koptischen Zaubertexte der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in Wien* (Sitz. Akad. Heidelberg 24.1, Heidelberg, 1934), seems to have no doubts:

> . . . zweien von den drei großen Sammlungen koptischer Urkunden, die auf mancherlei Weise von Ägypten nach Wien gelangt sind. . . . [Note: Die dritte Sammlung aus dem Weißen Kloster bei Achmim enthält nur literarische Stücke.]

Actually, much though we would like to accept the opinion of C. Schmidt, which is surely sound as far as the general activity in Shenute's monastery is concerned, his use of poorly documented information about the provenance of the codices mentioned above is probably wrong. It must be said, first of all, that the use of the Achmimic dialect makes great difficulty, even if at first sight one would consider as normal that near Achmim the Achmimic dialect would be used. But, leaving aside the fact that it is not certain that the Achmimic dialect was really spoken and written near Achmim, there is no reasonable explanation for the fact that the library which became the main centre of the literary activity in Sahidic was formed of Achmimic texts at the beginning. Nobody nowadays would give credit to the idea that Shenute preached in Achmimic. Also the extraordinary fact that we would have recovered either very old (IV-Vth centuries) or very late codices (IXth century and later), and nothing in between plays against Schmidt's thesis.

It is true, however, that the other group of fragments which might be taken into

consideration, that of the Vienna papyri, would fill the gap; they were found on the market in Egypt, and said to come from Achmim. They contain «normal» ecclesiastical works which one expects to find in VII-VIIIth century manuscripts: besides the Bible, there are fragments from homilies by John Chrysostom, the *Plerophoriae*, the *lives* of Athanasius, Paul of Tamma, Shenute, the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, the *Passions* of Mercurius, Gobidlaha, Ter and Erai, and the *Historia Monachorum* of Papnute. But here also the origin of the manuscripts is not certain.[18]

All in all, there remains a possibility that the codices listed by Schmidt and the Vienna fragments are what is saved of the library before the IXth century, and it is important that this possibility dwells in the mind of those who study the cultural activity of the Monastery of Shenute, in case new documents are found in favour of or against that hypothesis. For the moment it is not possible to infer the character or the history of the library from those codices.

Other questions are more interesting, and are worth mentioning, even if they remain in the field of speculation. Some bilingual codices have actually been found with the remains of the library (e.g. sa288, sa289, sa290 in the list of J. Schmitz and G. Mink, *Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien. 1. Teil, Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* [Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 8, Berlin – New York, 1986]). But it is also very probable that some Greek codices were part of the library. Have they been destroyed or dispersed during the VII-XIth centuries? Do some of the Greek Christian ecclesiastical fragments in the collections, coming from Egypt, come ultimately from the White Monastery?

Another type of evidence, that we may call indirect, cannot be neglected in the reconstruction of the history of the library. It is sufficiently sure that in the White Monastery, under the care of Shenute, the "real" Coptic literature was created, and many Greek works were translated. The works by Shenute testify to a very cultivated environment, where many people read and discussed important works of spirituality, of history, and of theology. All this presupposes the possession of many books, and a cultural activity around them, possibly a school not only elementary (this must have existed in any case) but of a high level.

When we try and understand how this happened, we can think of only two possibilities: either the monks dedicated to such activity relied for the organization from outside (e.g. in the large city of Shmin, Panopolis) or the cultural organization was inside the monastery. We are in favour of the second hypothesis, and we add that the existence of a school of high level at the White Monastery is to be supposed from the literary work done there; but in any case we must acknowledge that all relevant documents have disappeared, and what we may call the cultural testimonies do not go beyond the VIIth century. This leaves us with a material situation in which only manuscripts from the IX-XIIth centuries survive, and are

[18] ORLANDI, *Papiri copti di contenuto teologico*, p. 19.

brought to the small room mentioned above. They can only be considered, when we want to describe, for what is possible, the character of the texts that remained in the library.

Tentative statistics

Confining ourselves to the codices which certainly come from the White Monastery, and were preserved in the small chamber described above,[19] it is very difficult to give statistical figures. But after the long work of reconstruction with which we shall deal later, it is at least possible to give an idea of the number and contents of the codices so far identified and reconstructed, from which one can conjecture the extent of the library. In my opinion, on the basis of the existing fragments not yet belonging to some reconstructed codex, the numbers which I give may be at most the half of the real figures in the XIth century.

literary genre	number of codices
Bible	94
homilies (*)	89
Shenute	78 codices
hagiography	18
apocrypha	13
lives of monks	7 + 4 of Pachomius
canones and acta conciliorum (including Agathonicus)	6
acta apocrypha	1
special cases: Athanasius EppFest; works of Paul of Tamma; Rufus *commentaria*	4 + 2 + 2
miscellaneous	1
total	ca. 325

(*) There are codices with collections of homilies by one author: Basilius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom Comm. in Hebr.

To this calculation one should add the liturgical manuscripts, of which the remnants are very numerous, but owing to the situation of the studies the quantity of codices is a matter of guess. I think that, taking into consideration the manuscripts entirely lost, we can speak of a library of at least 1000 codices, an astonishing number compared with the largest western libraries of the same time, which seem to have kept 300 to 500 codices. As for the

[19] Many have treated how certainty can be reached; best of all EMMEL, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, p. 58-63.

number of pages which formed a codex, here also from one side it varied very much, and from another, only exceptionally we have the last page of one codex, also allowing for the fact that sometimes the numeration of the pages began anew at the beginning of a new work, and sometimes a group of works was considered continuing in two (or more?) tomes, where the numeration of the second tome continued that of the previous one. But it is possible to say that most of the codices contained ca. 200 pages; and many got as far as 300, and exceptionally even 500.

The general content of the codices has been shown above. It may be interesting now to propose a comparison with the other Coptic libraries, from which we have some remains, though it should be stressed that, given the circumstances in which Coptic manuscripts have been found, it is often difficult to infer the existence of a true library which originally kept them.

localization	modern collection	date
Dishna	Chester Beatty Library Bodmer Library Barcelona Palau Ribes	IVth century
Saqqara, Apa Ieremias	Chester Beatty Library Washington Freer coll.	VIth century
Bala'izah, Apa Apollo	Oxford Bodleian Library	IV-VIIth centuries (and later)
Thebes	Harris collection, then British Library	VIIth century
Thebes ? Apa Helias	[only catalogue] Cairo IFAO	VIIth century
Tin, s. John the Baptist?	Turin, Egyptian Museum	VII-IXth centuries
Sopehes (Hamuli) s. Michael	New York P. Morgan Libr. Cairo Coptic Museum, etc.	IX-Xth centuries
Tbo (Edfu) s. Mercurius	British Library New York P. Morgan Libr., etc.	X-XIIth centuries
Sketis, s. Makarius	Rome, Vatican Libr. Leipzig, etc.	IXth century onwards

The library of the monastery of Shenute is specially similar, for the shape of the codices, the presentation of the works inside them, and the choice of the texts, to the later libraries such as those from Hamuli and Edfu. But on the whole the works present in the Shenute's library are also found in the previous collections, from that of Jeremia onwards. In this regard, we note changes in the shape of the titles, which in later times tend to be more explicative of

the personality of the (often not authentic) authors, and of the content. Also the grouping of the works in one codex changes, because of the more technical use for liturgy.

On the contrary, we find a radical change if we consider the very old library from Dishna (the latest codices belong to the early Vth century).[20] If this was a library, it was very special, because of the mixture of Greek, Latin, and Coptic texts, and of classic-pagan and christian literature. It may be an example of what formed the White Monastery library of the early days, but it has nothing to do with the later situation.

This seems to imply that the true crisis in the Coptic literary tradition resulted from the Council of Chalcedon, and from the Arab conquest. The library of the White Monastery as we have it today is the result of the systematization done in the VIII-IXth centuries by certain scholars, who may have worked, at least in part, in the same White Monastery.

We may add that in the later period (IXth century onwards) the library of the White Monastery was mirrored in Bohairic in the library of the Monastery of St. Macarius of Sketis, which became the new cultural center of the Copts in the period before the prevalence of the Arabic language. When Arabic replaced Coptic as the ecclesiastical language (ca. XIIth century) the codices of the White Monastery remained (or were stored?) in a "secret chamber" in the north-east corner of the building which contained the church.

Dispersion of the library in modern times

It is possible to suppose that the codices remained, decayed but complete, in the chamber, until the XVIIIth century, when somebody having access to the chamber began to remove groups of folios from them, to be sold to foreigners interested in such material. According to Crum (*Cat. Brit. Libr.*, cit.) the first fragments to arrive to Europe entered in the collection of the Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731-1804). Their origin was not known, as also that of other fragments acquired by Woide (now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarendon Press fund), Nani (now in Venice), Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Curzon (now in the British Library), Tattam (now in Manchester), Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Goleniscev (now in St Petersburg), and Rainer (now in Vienna).

This situation continued until 1883 when Maspero discovered the famous 'small chamber' and all the remnants that he found were eventually brought to Paris, except for some rather large collections which were acquired by the Cairo Museum, the IFAO, the Leiden Museum, and the British Museum.

An accurate list of this dispersion was arranged by Henry Hyvernat, 'Introduction' (for an article by Porcher), *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1 (1933) 105-116, to which little has to be added. Our list follows the chronology, for what is possible:

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[20] It must be stressed that the very existence of the library, and its location near Dishna, is disputed, cf. R. KASSER, 'Bodmer Papyri' in *CE* 8, p. 48-53.

date	person or institution	quantity	passage	note
1778 sgg.	Assemani (?) for Borgia	2383 ff	Bibl. Vaticana + Napoli Bibl. Nazionale	
ca. 1784	Woide	130 ff	Oxford Clarendon Press	
--	Jacopo Nani	64 ff	Venezia Bibl. Marciana	
--	--	50 ff	Paris Bibl. Nat. 78	
--	Marcel	--	--	lost, burnt
1838	Curzon	180 ff	British Library 8800 8810,11,12	
1842	Tattam	130 ff	Crawford, then Manchester Rylands Univ. Libr.	
late XIX cent.	Tischendorf	60 ff	St Petersburg, Public Libr.	
--	--	50 ff -	Louvre	
--	--	--	Firenze Laurenziana	
--	--	12 ff	Paris Bibl. Nat. 102	
1875 ??	Horner	460	Brit. Libr. 100 ff, others lost	
1883	Maspero	4000	Paris Bibl. Nat., 129-133	arrived 1886-87
1886	--	--	Berlin Staatsbibl.	
--	--	215 ff	Cairo, Egyptian then Coptic Museum	
--	--	152 ff	Leiden, Rijksmus.	
--	--	490 ff	Brit. Library 1241-2 3579-81	acq. Budge
--	Th. Graf	1000	Österr. Nationalbibl. Papyrussammlung	
--	--	--	Louvre new fragments	
1888	Goleniscev	50	Moscow, Pushkin Mus.	
--	--	200 ff	Cairo IFAO	
--	De Ricci	150 ff	Paris, Bibl. Nat. 161	
--	Weill	--	Paris Bibl. Nat. ?	
--	Reinach ?	--	Berlin Staatl. Mus.	
--	--	50 ff	New York P. Morgan Libr.	
--	Hyvernat, then Thompson, Aspley Guise	50	Cambridge Univ. Libr. 1699	
--	--	100 ff	Ann Arbor Michigan Univ. Libr.	

--	Sayce	--	Oxford Eton College	
--	--	--	London Victoria & Albert Mus.	
--	--	--	Paris Acad. Inscr. B. L.	
--	--	100 ff	Strasbourg Bibl. Univ.	

Nobody, that I know, has really counted the number of pages which have survived and are available for study. A good estimate in my opinion is of ca. 10,000 leaves. The efforts of the scholars, begun late in the XIXth century, were directed towards the two obvious goals of producing the catalogues of the individual collections, and of reconstructing what is possible of the codices from the fragments scattered in the collections, from the recognition of complementary fragments from the same codex in different places. The names to be mentioned are those of Von Lemm, Crum, Lefort, Till, Garitte, and Hyvernat and Horner for the Bible. The situation of the cataloguing work is today as follows:

collection	catalogues
Berlin, Staatl. Mus.	Beltz
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (unified?)	Koptische Handschriften, description by A. Böhlig, 1960, typescript. Orientalische Handschriften, handwritten inv.
British Library	Crum, Layton: full catalogues
Cairo, Coptic Museum (ex Egyptian Mus.)	Crum, Munier: full catalogues
Cairo, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale	Coquin: rough list
Clarendon Press, Oxford	typewritten list by Hyvernat
Cambridge University Library	typewritten list by Hyvernat
[Eton college]	--
[Firenze Laurenziana]	--
[London Bible House]	--
St. Petersbourg M.E. Saltykov-Scedrin State Public Library	Elanskaya
Louvain-la-Neuve Univ.Cath.	Lefort
[Louvain Lefort private collection]	Lefort
Leiden Rijksmuseum	Pleyte Boeser
[London Egypt Explor. Soc.]	--
[London Victoria & Albert]	--
Moscow Puskin Mus	Elanskaya
Manchester J. Rylands Univ. Libr.	Crum

Michigan Univ. Libr, Ann Arbor	typewritten list by Hyvernat
Napoli Bibl. Nazionale	Zoega
New York P. Morgan Library	Depuydt, after the mss cat. by Hyvernat: full catalogue
Oxford Bodleian Library	--
Oslo University Library ??	--
Paris Louvre	--
Paris Bibliothèque Nationale	Deveria Porcher Lucchesi Boud'hors
[Roma Lincei Biblioteca Corsiniana]	--
Roma Biblioteca Vaticana	Zoega
Strasbourg Bibliothèque de l'Université	--
[Toronto University Library]	--
[Utrecht University Library]	--
Venezia Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana	Mingarelli
[Washington Freer Collection]	--
Wien Nationalbibliothek	Till: list of published items

Efforts of Reconstruction

For the scholars concerned with the reconstruction of the codices, it soon became evident that technology was essential for the success of the enterprise, which however is one of those which will never reach a perfect end. First came photography, which could partly substitute the personal inspections, and the notes taken by the scholars in the visits to the collections. So Lefort assembled in the library of the university of Louvain (now in Louvain-la-Neuve) an enormous number of photographs of fragments known or supposed to come from the White Monastery. During the second World War the negatives went lost, but the prints are still there. Other ample, but not systematic, collections of photos were gathered by H. Hyvernat, now in Washington, Catholic University, and by Crum, now with his papers in Oxford.

In 1969 I began an enterprise, the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*, with the aim to acquire the photographic reproduction of all known Sahidic manuscripts, in first place those coming from the Monastery of Shenute, but not only those. The collection, now placed in the Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, Roma, may be considered complete (again, no collection will ever be really complete), except for the liturgical manuscripts, which were left for a later stage. It is to be noted that some difficulties arose (and still arise) from the very different policies adopted by the authorities in providing the photos of the material under their care. While some are very liberal (e.g. the British Library or the

Bibliothèque Nationale), others give photos only of the pieces which the applicant declares to want to publish, and in any case only one or few pieces (e.g. Michigan University Library). This is of course disappointing for those who work having in mind not the publication of this or that fragment, but the reconstruction of the dismembered codices, or the recognition of the consistency of the Coptic literature.

In any case the CMCL project was aimed not only at the acquisition of the photos, but also at their arrangement in a way that could facilitate the consultation, and at building around them an archive of data that could facilitate the reconstruction of the codices and in general the study of the Coptic literature. The arrangement was made by separating each fragment and placing them in special frames; the data archive was done by means of traditional cards, stating paleographical and literary information.

Around 1980 came the second techonological turn, the electronic revolution. Computers not only gave enormous possibilities of storage and retrieval of data, but more and more provided new means of acquiring and disseminating information, in all shapes: images, texts (also in Coptic characters), and data. In this way it is possible to process all past information on the fragments and related codices, and add much new one.[21] It has also appeared possible to make an attempt at the general evaluation of the library, as to its extent, its development, and the content of the codices. This is what we have tried to do above, and the reader will duly consider the fact that it is the first attempt, with all the dangers and uncertainties which it includes.

[21] Cf. the web page of the CMCL, URL: http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/~cmcl.

MARK SMITH

ASPECTS OF THE PRESERVATION AND TRANSMISSION OF INDIGENOUS RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS IN AKHMIM AND ITS ENVIRONS DURING THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD

A symposium with the title 'Perspectives on Panopolis' invites its participants to exchange information and share their views about that place. Now obviously, in order to do so, one has first to decide precisely what Panopolis means. At its simplest, the name denotes a city situated on the east bank of the Nile, the capital of the 9th Upper Egyptian nome. However, Panopolis is a Greek toponym, not an Egyptian one, and for some its use might imply a particular emphasis upon the role of that city as a centre of Hellenism. Such people might prefer to call the place Akhmim, Shmin, or some other derivative of its original name, *Ḫnt-Mn*. But Akhmim, in Egyptological literature at least, can be used to denote more than one thing. Some scholars employ the name to signify the ancient city itself, others the city and some part of the adjacent territory. Depending upon who is writing, this adjacent territory can include the cemeteries to the northeast of the present area of urban settlement, the villages and burial sites on the opposite side of the river, or even, on occasion, the entire nome of which Akhmim was the capital.[1]

This rather loose terminology poses problems for students of ancient Egyptian religion, particularly those with an interest in Egyptian religion during the Graeco-Roman Period. When one reads in an article or monograph that a particular religious belief or practice was characteristic of Akhmim at that time, or that an artefact or class of artefacts attesting such a belief or practice comes from Akhmim, what precisely does this mean? The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the archaeological exploitation of the Akhmim region, beginning in the last two decades of the 19th Century, was unsystematic, to say the least.[2] Of the many hundreds of portable objects discovered there, only a small proportion have actually survived, and for relatively few of these was an exact provenience recorded at the time of discovery.

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[1] For a good introduction to the Akhmim region and its antiquities, see K. KUHLMANN, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim* (SDAIK 11, Mainz am Rhein, 1983). The various names of the city are discussed ibid., pp. 9-13.

[2] For an account of the plundering to which the site was subjected, see KUHLMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-2.

Awareness of such a problem is nothing new. One can go back to the 19th Century and find a scholar like Carl Schmidt commenting on the confusion which had arisen even then, noting for instance that the majority of mummy labels that were said to have come from Akhmim actually originated on the other side of the river, near Sohag.[3] Nor in the days since then have attempts to clarify this confusion been lacking. In recent years, two Egyptologists in particular who have made valuable contributions in this sphere are Klaus Kuhlmann and Michel Chauveau. The former, concentrating upon the east bank of the river, by a careful comparison of accounts left by early excavators with the records of the Cairo Museum, has been able to trace large numbers of stelae and other objects in that museum to specific cemeteries northeast of Akhmim.[4] The latter, utilising the evidence of mummy labels, has done much to elucidate the cult topography on the west bank of the river during the Graeco-Roman Period, making it possible to link some owners of mummy labels with specific villages there on the basis of deities mentioned in their inscriptions.[5]

But there is still much work to be done. As I have already indicated, the amount of evidence pertaining to Egyptian religion during the Graeco-Roman Period from the Akhmim region is vast. It comprises temples, tombs, both inscribed and uninscribed, burial places for humans as well as various animal and bird species, coffins, mummy cases and related objects, stelae, offering tables, papyri, ostraca, graffiti, mummy labels, and inscribed linen bandages.[6] Obviously, the problem of ascertaining precise provenience arises only in connection with portable objects. Graffiti, temples and tombs stay where they were originally constructed or inscribed, except of course for the largest single structure ever to be erected in the 9th Upper Egyptian nome, the city of Akhmim's temple dedicated to Min, which has completely disappeared from its original site.[7] This illustrates well the fact that at Akhmim nothing is ever simple. What I propose to do now is briefly to survey a few of the different categories of object just enumerated and consider what we know about exactly where these originated. In the course of this survey, I will raise more questions than I will answer, and it will become apparent that my own particular perspective on Akhmim or Panopolis is clouded to some extent by doubt and uncertainty. But that is due to the nature of the material which we will be considering.

[3] See his remarks in *ZÄS* 34 (1896), p. 80. The true provenience of the mummy labels had been noted earlier by U. BOURIANT in *RT* 11 (1889), p. 143.

[4] KUHLMANN, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, pp. 62-4.

[5] See e.g. CHAUVEAU, *RdÉ* 37 (1986), pp. 31-43; idem, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), pp. 101-9; also the same author's contribution in the present volume.

[6] Most of these objects will eventually find their way into the corpus of material from Akhmim being compiled by Mark Depauw. For a report on this project, see pp. 71-81 of the present volume.

[7] On the scant remains of this and other sanctuaries in that city, see KUHLMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-49; S. MCNALLY – I. SCHRUNK, *Excavations in Akhmīm, Egypt* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 3-5.

Many hieroglyphic stelae of Graeco-Roman date from the Akhmim area are preserved in museums around the world.[8] Because the individuals for whom they were made were priests, their inscriptions provide us with valuable information about the deities worshipped there and those who officiated in their cults. The Cairo Museum has a particularly good collection of such stelae. These come from excavations organised by Gaston Maspero at the cemetery of el-Hawawish between 1884 and 1888, as we know from his published reports on the work there and from Kuhlmann's study of the Cairo *Journal d'entrée* numbers.[9] As the latter has noted, Akhmim stelae in other museums which were acquired between the years 1884 and 1888 can safely be attributed to this cemetery as well. Little information is extant concerning the precise archaeological context in which these stelae were found. However, Kuhlmann has suggested that they were probably placed in the tomb shafts or the burial chambers themselves.[10] There are also extant a number of purely demotic funerary stelae which, to judge from the deities and cults mentioned on them, probably originate from the east, or Akhmim, side of the river, although it is not always possible to be more specific than this.[11]

By contrast, there seem to be relatively few stelae which come from the west, or Sohag, side of the river, the region opposite Akhmim.[12] Here, instead, large numbers of mummy labels have been found. All emanate from a single site, the necropolis of Atripe, or Triphion, not far from the present village of Wannina.[13] Many of these are bilingual, with inscriptions in both demotic and in Greek. However, there are also large numbers of labels inscribed in demotic alone, and some partly written in hieratic. As is well known, mummy labels served a function analogous to that of stelae, and indeed were sometimes designated as such.[14] Since mummy labels with Egyptian inscriptions seem to be unknown on the east bank, one would seem to have here, at first sight, a definite regional variation in religious practice. On the Akhmim side of the river funerary stelae were used, on the Sohag side mummy labels. Moreover, since mummy labels are supposed by many scholars to have been cheap substitutes for stelae, it is tempting to use this as a basis for speculation about

[8] For a representative sample, see M.-TH. DERCHAIN-URTEL, *Priester im Tempel* (Wiesbaden, 1989), pp. 96-9, with review by A. EGBERTS in *BiOr* 51 (1994), pp. 536-44.

[9] See reference cited in note 4 above. For MASPERO's reports, see *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie* 1 (Paris, 1893), pp. 214-19 and 233-42.

[10] *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, p. 58 note 292.

[11] For representative specimens, see W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, I. *Die demotischen Inschriften* (CGC 30601-31166, Leipzig, 1904), nos. 22074, 31095, 31109, and 31155. A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 245-66, gives a list of published demotic funerary stelae.

[12] One of these is Stela Turin 1655 (G. BOTTI, *Archiv Orientální* 20 [1952], pp. 340-1; cf. J. MÁLEK – M. SMITH, *GM* 64 [1983], pp. 48-9). Its provenience is *Pr–Swn*, for which village see below.

[13] On mummy labels, see J. QUAEGEBEUR in E. BOSWINKEL – P.W. PESTMAN (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 232-59. For their provenience, see ibid., p. 243; CHAUVEAU, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), p. 101; also references cited in note 3 above.

[14] See QUAEGEBEUR, art. cit., p. 237.

Westf. Wilh.-Univ.
Institut für
Altertumskunde
48143 Münster

the relative degrees of wealth enjoyed by the residents on the two sides of the river, or at least that part of their wealth which they were prepared to spend on funerary equipment. But one needs to be cautious here, in my opinion. Since mummy labels have been found in association with other, more costly, items of funerary equipment like painted portraits,[15] we should not assume that economic factors were the only ones which determined their usage. Moreover, as we will see, the vast majority of mummy labels from the west side of the river are much later in date than the stelae from the east side. The extent to which labels and stelae were in simultaneous usage in the 9th Upper Egyptian nome remains to be determined.

Another sort of object which is often said to be characteristic of the Akhmim region is a type of mummy case made of cartonnage, or mud and straw, or sometimes a combination of the two. Many of these were made for women, and depict their owners with arms outstretched alongside the body, wearing long close-fitting dresses brightly coloured in pink and white. Other cases, made for adolescent boys, depict the owner wearing a tunic, cap and mantle.[16] Specimens of such mummy cases now in the Cairo Museum were found during Maspero's 1884-1885 excavations at el-Hawawish, as is clear from an examination of the museum's records.[17] But there are many specimens in other collections as well, for which information concerning their findspot is lacking. Do all of these come from the same cemetery, or was the manufacture and use of objects of this type more generalised, say on the west side of the river as well as the east side? As far as I am aware, there is only one published account which refers to the discovery of such mummy cases on the west side of the river. This is the report of E.A.W. Budge, given in his memoirs, *By Nile and Tigris*. He claims that the mummy cases of this type now in the British Museum were discovered in a reused tomb of New Kingdom date in the hills which lay to the west of the Red and White Monasteries.[18] I have discussed elsewhere the problematic character and general unreliability of this and other reports of Budge's and, as I have said before, the likelihood is very strong that we are dealing here with pure invention.[19] There is, nevertheless, at least one tomb of New Kingdom date known to exist in the hills west of the Red Monastery, namely

[15] Ibid., pp. 238-9.

[16] For examples of such mummy cases, see S. WALKER – M.L. BIERBRIER (eds.), *Ancient Faces* (London, 1997), pp. 30-4; G. GRIMM, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1974), plates 116-19; M. SMITH, *Enchoria* 19-20 (1992-93), pp. 145-60; idem in BIERBRIER (ed.), *Portraits and Masks* (London, 1997), pp. 66-71 with plates 7-8 and 31-4.

[17] See for instance CGC 33270, 33271, and 33272 (C.C. EDGAR, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits* [CGC 33101-33285, Cairo, 1905], pp. 112-15 and plates 44-5). As shown by Kuhlmann, the *Journal d'entrée* numbers of these mummy cases, respectively 26934, 26933, and 26935, fit into one of the series assigned to objects from those excavations. (See reference cited in note 4 above.)

[18] See his account in *By Nile and Tigris* 2 (London, 1920), pp. 332 and 348-50.

[19] See my analysis in C. EYRE – A. LEAHY – L. LEAHY (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore* (London, 1994), pp. 293-303.

that from the reign of Tutankhamun at Awlad Azzaz opposite el-Salamuni, recently published by Boyo Ockinga.[20] Could Budge's report refer to a tomb like this one?

The region around Akhmim is also one from which a number of important demotic literary and funerary papyri have come. Among the former, we have the famous wisdom text P. Insinger, now in Leiden,[21] the British Museum version of the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy,[22] and the Strasbourg manuscript of that part of the Inaros cycle which recounts the contest for the benefice of Amun.[23] Of funerary papyri, we have the mortuary liturgies preserved in P. BM 10507,[24] at least one copy of the Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing,[25] and, I think, probably a long manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford which preserves a version of Spells 25 and 32 of the Pyramid Texts and a copy of the work known as the Spell for Presenting Offerings to Spirits.[26]

The papyri raise several questions. It is striking that nearly all of them preserve works which are also known from other manuscripts which originate in other parts of the country.[27] Was the Akhmim region, therefore, simply a place where texts of this sort were copied, or was it a centre of creativity in its own right where literary and religious works were actually composed? The Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy were found rolled up together with the mortuary texts of P. BM 10507.[28] Both were almost certainly recovered from a tomb.[29] Were the other literary manuscripts mentioned above found in tombs as well? It is worth noting, in this connection, that P. Insinger ends with a prayer requesting that the ba of a certain Paheb flourish forever in the following of Osiris Sokar, a request very similar to those found on mummy labels and funerary stelae.[30] If they do come from tombs, where were these located? It is striking that a number of important manuscripts of Egyptian wisdom texts are associated with the Akhmim region. Apart from the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy and P. Insinger, a wisdom text of somewhat earlier date, the Instruction of

[20] B. OCKINGA, *A Tomb from the Reign of Tutankhamun at Akhmim* (Warminster, 1997). For the re-use of the tomb in the Graeco-Roman Period, see ibid., pp. 61-2.

[21] F. LEXA, *Papyrus Insinger* (Paris, 1926).

[22] S.R.K. GLANVILLE, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy* (London, 1955).

[23] W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (Leipzig, 1910).

[24] M. SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London, 1987).

[25] P. Louvre E 10607 (M. SMITH, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing* [Oxford, 1993], p. 4 and plate 7). For the possibility that the other versions of the Liturgy have the same provenience, see ibid., p. 5.

[26] See my discussion in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia: Atti* 2 (Turin, 1993), pp. 491-5.

[27] For parallels to P. Insinger and the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy, see M. SMITH in *LÄ* 6, columns 1197-1203. For other MSS. of the Strasbourg Inaros text, see e.g. W.J. TAIT, *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek* (London, 1977), p. 15. Nine of the twelve columns of P. BM 10507 are paralleled in P. Harkness, for which see M. SMITH, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), pp. 95-105.

[28] See SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, p. 15; idem in EYRE – LEAHY – LEAHY (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, pp. 294-5.

[29] For the possible identity of their owner, see SMITH in EYRE – LEAHY – LEAHY (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 300.

[30] P. Insinger, XXXV, 13-15 (LEXA, *Papyrus Insinger*, p. 113).

Amenemope, is attributed to a priest who lived in Akhmim.[31] Was wisdom literature a special product of this area? There is a village on the west bank of the river whose name in demotic is *Pr-Swn*, var. *Pȝ-Swn* (= Coptic ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ, Greek Ψῶνις).[32] Earlier demotic orthographies of this name spell the second element purely alphabetically. However, some later orthographies write it as if it were the noun *swn*, 'knowledge', suggesting that the name of the village may have been popularly reinterpreted as meaning 'house of knowledge' or simply 'knowledge'.[33] A village so named would be an appropriate centre for the composition, or at least the copying, of wisdom literature, but unfortunately, if the name *Pr-Swn* was ever reinterpreted to mean something like 'house of knowledge', it is probably not because wisdom texts were produced there. My impression, and I stress that this is only an impression, is that both demotic literary and religious papyri were products of the east side of the river.

With the funerary papyri in the demotic script, no titles are ever indicated for the deceased. With funerary papyri from other parts of Egypt, the owners of which were often priests, religious titles provide valuable help in ascertaining where a manuscript originated. Does this mean that the individuals for whom the demotic funerary papyri from the Akhmim region were written were not priests, or is there some other reason why no titles are attributed to them?[34] If they were not priests, then to what profession or social group did they belong? One mortuary text preserved in P. BM 10507 mentions 'Isis the great, the god's mother who dwells in Ipu', a goddess whose cult was an east bank phenomenon.[35] This might be taken to indicate an east bank origin both for that manuscript and the associated Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy. But while I know of no text of definite west bank provenience which mentions that particular cult, inscriptions in the temple of Ptolemy Auletes at Wannina on the west bank do occasionally refer to cults of Min, Sokar Osiris, and Horus based on the other side of the river, so one cannot be absolutely certain on this point.[36]

It will be apparent from what has been said above just how much uncertainty remains over the precise provenience of many of the objects from the Akhmim area which interest us. Just as it is difficult to locate the origin of such pieces in space, so too it is often difficult to fix their origin in time. Typically, scholars ascribe them to the Graeco-Roman Period

[31] For this text, see I. GRUMACH, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenope* (München, 1972).

[32] See S. SAUNERON, *Villes et légendes d'Égypte* (2nd edition, Cairo, 1983), p. 104; H.-J. THISSEN, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler* (Sommerhausen, 1992), p. 60, and references cited there.

[33] See e.g. P. Vienna KM 3877, V, 2 (THISSEN, *op. cit.*, plate 5); W. SPIEGELBERG, *Ägyptische und griechische Eigennamen* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 71*; G. MÖLLER, *Mumienschilder* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 14.

[34] In cases where two or more inscribed objects are known to have belonged to the same person, priestly titles included on one are sometimes abbreviated or even omitted altogether on the other(s). See remarks of Depauw elsewhere in this volume, pp. 71-81.

[35] P. BM 10507, IV, 14-15 (SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, plate 4).

[36] See, for instance, W.M.F. PETRIE, *Athribis* (London, 1908), plates 17-18 (*Mn-Rᶜ nb Ỉpw*) , 21 (*Skr Wsir nṯr ᶜȝ ḥr-ib Ỉpw*), and 28-9 (*Ḥr sn̲m-ib sȝ ȝst Wsir wḥm msw.t m Ỉpw*).

without any attempt at further precision. Relatively few monuments or objects which inform us about religious belief or practice bear precise dates. A famous block seen at Akhmim by many earlier travellers was inscribed on one side with a representation of a zodiac and on the other with a Greek text recording work carried out on the temple of Min there in year 12 of the emperor Trajan (108 AD).[37] A certain number of demotic or bilingual mummy labels from the Triphion cemetery on the west bank bear precise dates. These range from year 13 of Domitian (93 AD) to year 4 of Aurelian (272 AD).[38] Two demotic graffiti on the facade of a sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius at the same site are dated to year 33 of Augustus.[39] A demotic inscription in the quarry of Gebel Sheikh el-Haridi north of Akhmim records how work was undertaken there in year 11 of Ptolemy XII (71-70 BC).[40] Other demotic graffiti at the site of Gebel Tukh in the southern part of the nome bear precise dates in the reigns of a series of Ptolemaic kings.[41]

A number of other monuments or objects mention the name of the reigning king but without specifying in which year of his rule they were built or made. Thus, blocks from the temple ruins at Akhmim itself mention Ptolemies II, IV or X, and XIII, Nero, Domitian, and possibly Antoninus Pius, as well as the aforesaid Trajan.[42] Across the river, we know that the large temple of Triphis at Wannina was started under Ptolemy XII or Ptolemy Caesarion and completed under Hadrian from references of this type, and that the smaller temple at that site was built under Ptolemy X.[43] The rock temple at el-Salamuni originally built by Ay also attests the name of Ptolemy II.[44] A famous stela belonging to the priest Petharnebschenis, now in Berlin (inv. no. 22489), was inscribed in the reign of Hadrian.[45] To fill out the picture, it should be mentioned that, in addition to objects inscribed with kings' names but no dates, we have objects from this area with inscriptions dated in regnal years of unnamed kings. A number of the so-called Akhmim mummy cases which I mentioned

[37] KUHLMANN, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, pp. 41-4.

[38] This information courtesy of Michel Chauveau. The earliest precisely dated label from that site (Louvre inv. E 9687 bis) is unpublished. The latest is bilingual; only the Greek side has been published. See F. BARATTE – B. BOYAVAL, *CRIPEL* 2 (1974), pp. 208-9, no. 131.

[39] R. EL-FARAG – U. KAPLONY-HECKEL – K. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), p. 2.

[40] W. SPIEGELBERG, *ZÄS* 51 (1913), pp. 65-75; A. FARID, *Die demotischen Inschriften der Strategen* (San Antonio, 1993), pp. 40-2. There is a problem with the date, which might also be read as year 19 (= 63-62 BC), but on balance I think year 11 is more likely.

[41] See J. DE MORGAN – U. BOURIANT – G. LEGRAIN, *Les carrières de Ptolemaïs* (Paris, 1894), pp. 372-9.

[42] KUHLMANN, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, pp. 16, 25, and 45.

[43] N. BAUM in C. BERGER – G. CLERC – N. GRIMAL (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 2 (Cairo, 1994), p. 23; EL-FARAG – KAPLONY-HECKEL – KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), p. 1, correcting PETRIE, *Athribis*, p. 10.

[44] K. KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), pp. 165-88; idem, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pp. 347-54. Cf. H. KEES, *RT* 36 (1914), pp. 51-6.

[45] A. SCHARFF, *ZÄS* 62 (1927), pp. 86-107. On this stela, see also comments of P. DERCHAIN in *Le dernier obélisque* (Brussels, 1987), pp. 51-6.

earlier are so dated,[46] as are a number of mummy labels.[47] Unfortunately, the regnal years in question tend to be low-numbered ones which could, in theory, belong to any of several different rulers and thus are of little use by themselves in determining precisely when the objects on which they appear were inscribed.[48]

Apart from names of kings and their regnal years, other, more indirect, criteria can sometimes be used for dating purposes. The famous zodiac tomb at Wannina, for instance, includes among its inscriptions horoscopes for the two individuals buried there. Parker and Neugebauer have calculated that these were cast in 141 and 148 AD, although a certain amount of adjustment is required to arrive at these dates.[49] A less precise, but still useful, dating indicator is the appearance on mummy labels of the name elements Aurelios/ Aurelia, which show that the labels in question were written after 212 AD.[50]

Such objects as I have been enumerating, however, account for only a small proportion of those from the Akhmim region. By far the majority are undated. Attempts have been made to date these by means of stylistic or typological criteria, in the case of statues, stelae and coffins,[51] and by means of palaeography in the case of texts.[52] While this sort of analysis is undoubtedly useful, it seems clear that the most profitable way forward is to work from the dated to the undated. If a link of some sort can be established between an undated object and a securely dated one, showing that the former is contemporary with the latter, then its date is fixed as well.

Much valuable work of this type has already been done on objects from the Akhmim area. To cite just one example, Michel Chauveau, using the onomastic evidence provided by mummy labels, has been able to establish a number of genealogies of families living on the west side of the river, sometimes stretching over several generations. Not only does this help to assign specific labels dates relative to one another; in cases where an undated label can be linked with a securely dated one because the owners have some family relationship, Chauveau has been able to fix the chronology of such groups in absolute terms as well.[53]

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[46] See, for example, Cairo CGC 33275 (EDGAR, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits*, pp. 117-19 and plate 45), dated in year 17 of an unnamed king (not year 20 as stated by Edgar).

[47] See e.g. QUAEGEBEUR in BOSWINKEL – PESTMAN (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, pp. 240-1; MÖLLER, *Mumienschilder*, no. 8; CHAUVEAU, *RdÉ* 37 (1986), pp. 37-42 (Louvre AF 10076).

[48] Occasionally the texts on such objects preserve other information which, taken in conjunction with the regnal year, does permit a precise dating. See, for instance, the discussion of Louvre AF 10076 in CHAUVEAU, art. cit.

[49] O. NEUGEBAUER – R.A. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3 (Providence – London, 1969), pp. 96-8.

[50] See QUAEGEBEUR in BOSWINKEL – PESTMAN (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, p. 241.

[51] See e.g. GRIMM, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten*, pp. 98-100; A. SCHWEITZER, *BIFAO* 98 (1998), pp. 325-52.

[52] E.g. SMITH in BIERBRIER (ed.), *Portraits and Masks*, pp. 66-71; DERCHAIN-URTEL elsewhere in this volume, pp. 83-93.

[53] See, for instance, *BIFAO* 91 (1991), p. 146; *BIFAO* 92 (1992), pp. 105-7. Compare also QUAEGEBEUR in BOSWINKEL – PESTMAN (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, p. 256.

Another productive approach, where manuscripts are concerned, is to link undated examples with securely dated ones which are clearly the work of the same scribe or a member of the same scribal school. Chauveau has done much work of this type with mummy labels.[54] To cite another instance, Friedhelm Hoffmann has helped to make our dating of such important demotic literary manuscripts as P. Insinger, P. Spiegelberg, and the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy more precise by pointing out close palaeographical affinities between them and P. Moscow 123, a documentary text from Akhmim which was written in year 13 of Ptolemy XII (68 BC).[55]

It is interesting to juxtapose what we know about the provenience of artefacts from the Akhmim area which illustrate local religious beliefs and practices during the Graeco-Roman Period with what we know about the date of such artefacts. I mentioned earlier the marked difference in the spatial distribution of stelae and mummy labels inscribed with Egyptian texts. The stelae, with very rare exceptions, appear to come from the east bank of the river, the mummy labels from the west bank. But there is also a marked distinction in terms of temporal distribution. There are very few stelae which can be dated later than the end of the 1st Century AD,[56] whereas most mummy labels with Egyptian inscriptions from this region belong to the 2nd and 3rd Centuries. Are we to explain the substitution of such labels for stelae as a regional variation, i.e. as a specifically west bank, as opposed to east bank, practice, or is it the result of change over time, the mummy labels representing a new development which superseded the earlier stelae? Only further research will tell us the answer to this question.

Careful consideration of the evidence for where and when a particular religious belief or practice flourished in the 9th Upper Egyptian nome during the Graeco-Roman Period is essential when one tackles the problem of trying to ascertain whether knowledge of it could have been transmitted to Greeks, whether one uses that term as an ethnic or cultural designation. If a belief or practice was restricted to a village or two on the west bank, how likely is it that a Greek-speaking intellectual living in Akhmim, or should one say Panopolis, would be familiar with it? If such a belief or practice died out after the 1st Century AD, would a person born three centuries later have had any possibility of learning about it?

When one looks at the totality of the preserved evidence for Egyptian religious beliefs and practices in the Akhmim region during the Graeco-Roman Period, a vibrant, colourful, and above all, highly distinctive picture emerges. The chief deities were the god Min on the east bank and the goddess Triphis on the west.[57] Other special divinities worshipped include

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[54] E.g. *BIFAO* 91 (1991), p. 139; *BIFAO* 92 (1992), pp. 103-6. Compare QUAEGEBEUR in BOSWINKEL – PESTMAN (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 257.

[55] HOFFMANN, *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 38-9.

[56] The most notable example is Stela Berlin inv. 22489, inscribed in the reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD), for which see references cited in note 45 above.

[57] See U. RÖSSLER-KOHLER in *LÄ* 5, columns 236-42 (s.v. Repit).

the child god Kolanthes,[58] the goddess Aperet-set, often associated with Triphis,[59] and two particular forms of the god Horus: Horus who pleases the heart[60] and Horus the great, lord of Letopolis.[61] The latter was especially venerated at Edfa on the west bank.[62] Yet another form of Horus, Horus pillar of his mother, had a cult there as well.[63] The village of Bompae was notable for the veneration of Harudja, a deified human being.[64] Near Atripe, also on the west bank, there was a sanctuary of Asclepius where incubation of the sick was practised.[65] The worship of sacred animals and birds was very important, as we know from the discovery of cemeteries of mummified falcons, jackals, cats, ibises, baboons, and other creatures.[66] The house of life in the temple of Min at Akhmim continued to function during the Graeco-Roman Period.[67] It is presumably there that many of the priests and scribes who preserved and transmitted knowledge about religious traditions were based. More than one source attributes these functions specifically to priests of Thoth, who are called 'those who know the forms of the ancestors' and 'scribes, wise men, who enter the library, servants of Thoth, the staff of the house of life'.[68]

To judge from the surviving evidence, another important preoccupation of priests in the region around Akhmim must have been the study and interpretation of astral phenomena. Neugebauer and Parker have compiled a list of surviving zodiacs from Graeco-Roman Egypt.[69] Six come from temples in Upper Egypt like those of Dendera and Esna. There was a further one in the latter temple, now destroyed. Six are inscribed on the lids of coffins from Thebes, almost all of which belonged to members of a single family. One was found at Tanis, and two are inscribed on portable objects whose provenience is unknown. But more zodiacs are known from the Akhmim region than from anywhere else in Egypt. There was one, no longer extant, in the temple of Min at Akhmim itself. There are six representations of the zodiac on the ceilings of tombs at the cemetery of el-Salamuni to the northeast of Akhmim. Accounts of earlier travellers inform us of the existence of at least two further representations in tombs there which have since been destroyed.[70] Another pair of zodiacs

[58] J. QUAEGEBEUR in *LÄ* 3, columns 671-2.
[59] E. FEUCHT in *LÄ* 1, columns 335-6.
[60] SCHARFF, *ZÄS* 62 (1927), pp. 89-90.
[61] Ibid., p. 90.
[62] CHAUVEAU, *RdÉ* 37 (1986), pp. 42-4.
[63] Ibid., pp. 34-6 and 42.
[64] CHAUVEAU, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), pp. 106-7.
[65] See EL-FARAG – KAPLONY-HECKEL – KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), pp. 1-4 and plates 7-8.
[66] For a list of animal cemeteries discovered in the Akhmim region, see D. KESSLER, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1989), pp. 21-2.
[67] See K. NORDH, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings* (Uppsala, 1996), pp. 194-5.
[68] See M.-TH. DERCHAIN-URTEL in *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier, 1986), pp. 173-80; JANSEN-WINKELN, *MDAIK* 53 (1997), pp. 93-4.
[69] *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3, pp. 204-5. The bold number given there after each entry in the list indicates where a more detailed discussion of the zodiac in question can be found elsewhere in the same volume.
[70] See NEUGEBAUER – PARKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9.

occurs across the river, in conjunction with horoscopes, on the ceiling of the famous zodiac tomb at Atripe. Thus, our evidence for this sort of interest comes from both a state temple and private monuments. It is not restricted to one side of the river, but is attested on both. Nor do these representations of zodiacs exhaust our evidence for the importance of the study of the stars in the Akhmim region at this time. Not far from the so-called zodiac tomb is another tomb, constructed for a certain Psenosiris, with a further pair of astronomical representations. This tomb is remarkable for its elaborate decoration and long hieroglyphic inscriptions, both of which are executed in sunk relief rather than in paint.[71] Moreover, while working at this site in 1908, Petrie discovered a large number of demotic ostraca, some of which he characterised as 'interesting astronomical ones, with entries of stars'.[72] For obvious reasons, this particular field seems potentially a very fruitful one for investigating the possibility of interaction between Egyptians and Greeks in the area around Akhmim.

Enough has been said to give some idea of the vibrancy and distinctive character of indigenous religious beliefs and practices in the 9th Upper Egyptian nome during the Graeco-Roman Period. An important question, however, is how long did these survive, when did they come to an end? Taking into account the evidence surveyed in this paper, I have the impression that the 1st Century BC and the first one and a half centuries AD represent the period when they were at their peak. Thereafter, and on into the 2nd and 3rd Centuries, nearly all of our evidence for such matters comes from mummy labels. How full a picture these provide is difficult to say. They suggest that the old religion hung on more tenaciously on the west bank than on the east. Even there, however, its days were numbered. The succeeding 4th and 5th Centuries bring us to the time of that archfoe of all non-Christian forms of religion, Shenoute of Atripe.[73] A lifelong resident of the Akhmim region, born and raised on the west bank, his writings and correspondence contain many references to and descriptions of the beliefs and practices of his local religious opponents. What is striking is the fact that, with a few odd exceptions, there is no trace in his accounts of the very distinctive features of Egyptian cult and worship which characterised Akhmim and the surrounding area in earlier periods.

In one of his works, Shenoute inveighs against the worship of falcons, serpents, crocodiles and other creatures, down to and including the lowly fly.[74] As we know, animal cults were very important in the Akhmim region before his time, as witnessed by the numerous cemeteries which have been discovered there preserving the mummified remains of diverse species of fauna. Apparently, even insect burials are attested.[75] Elsewhere,

[71] See EL-FARAG – KAPLONY-HECKEL – KUHLMANN, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), pp. 4-8 and plates 9-17; NEUGEBAUER – PARKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-7.
[72] PETRIE, *Athribis,* p. 11. These are still unpublished.
[73] For Shenoute, see S. EMMEL elsewhere in this volume, pp. 95-113.
[74] É. AMÉLINEAU, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi* 2 (Paris, 1914), pp. 408-9. Cf. idem, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi* 1 (Paris, 1909), pp. 379-83.
[75] See reference cited in note 66 above.

Shenoute denounces some local opponents of his as casters of horoscopes and astrologers.[76] It is tempting to see here a reflection of the well-documented predilection for the study and interpretation of astral phenomena which we know from Akhmim and its environs in earlier periods.[77] On the other hand, this sort of castigation is commonplace in the writings of Christian polemicists (Shenoute further accuses the same foes of being sorcerers, potion-mixers, and idol worshippers), and so one may have here a rhetorical device rather than a literal description.

Apart from such exceptions, as Jacques van der Vliet has pointed out in an important article on the subject, there is very little in Shenoute's references to and descriptions of pagan beliefs and practices in his locality which could be called Egyptian at all.[78] When he cites the myths of his opponents, they are invariably Greek rather than indigenous ones. The deities to whom he refers are always given Greek names, the Egyptian equivalents of these only being added as glosses, if at all.[79] Even the god Min, once Akhmim's chief divinity, seems to have been demoted in his eyes to a local form of the Greek Pan.[80] Typical is the encounter between Shenoute and an unnamed pagan, related in his sermon on the Last Judgement.[81] He meets this man in the ruins of the temple of Atripe, catching him in the act of worshipping 'Satan'. Neither of them seems to be aware of the identity of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, the goddess Triphis. When the pagan is urged by Shenoute to accept Jesus as his god, he refuses, saying that Jesus displayed no special powers which were not exercised by Apollonios of Tyana and Plato as well. It is entirely characteristic that he cites these foreigners rather than any native Egyptian wonderworker, or a local figure who combined humanity and divinity within a single person like Harudja of Bompae.

When it is not specifically Greek, the paganism that Shenoute opposes in his writings is of a bland, generic variety which might have been encountered almost anywhere. Does this mean that despite his pose of having intimate knowledge of the beliefs and practices of his religious opponents he was actually very ignorant of what went on around him? Or did he deliberately distort or misrepresent the beliefs of his foes, as we know other contemporary Christian polemicists did? Or, by Shenoute's time, was all that survived of the old religion for him to oppose simply a few ideas lingering on in the debased form of popular superstition and more or less subsumed within the broader framework of the dominant

[76] J. LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia* 3 (Paris, 1908), p. 88.

[77] See above.

[78] See idem in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten* (Riggisberg, 1993), pp. 99-130.

[79] See e.g. AMÉLINEAU, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi* 1, pp. 383-5. An exception is the goddess Isis (see first reference cited in note 74 above), whose cult had spread throughout the Graeco-Roman world, so that her name was equally familiar to Egyptians and non-Egyptians.

[80] See S. EMMEL, *GM* 141 (1994), pp. 43-6.

[81] For the text, see H. BEHLMER, *Schenute von Atripe: De Iudicio* (Turin, 1996), pp. LXXXV-LXXXVIII, 91-3 (fol. XLI rto b 15 – XLIII rto a 2), and 247-8. On the possible identification of this pagan with Shenoute's archfoe Gesios, see idem in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia: Atti* 2 (Turin, 1993), pp. 11-19.

Hellenism?[82] These are questions which merit further investigation, and it is to be hoped that the 'Perspectives on Panopolis' symposium will provide an impetus for qualified scholars to undertake this.

Postscript: The problem of the extent to which the older indigenous religious beliefs and practices of the Akhmim region still survived in Shenoute's time has been treated in two relatively recent publications: F. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization C. 370-529*, Vol. 2 (Leiden, 1994), pp. 207-19, and D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 1998), pp. 77-82 and passim. As I was asked my opinion of works of this type after presenting my paper at the Leiden symposiun, I thought that it might be of interest to append the following comments on one of them to the printed version of my contribution. Neither of the books just mentioned is written by an Egyptologist, and neither is terribly distinguished. Frankfurter's work in particular, on which I will concentrate here, is undermined by a number of major flaws: naive and uncritical use of literary, often highly rhetorical, sources as historical evidence; ignorance of traditional Egyptian religion and the forms which it took in and around Akhmim during the Graeco-Roman Period, resulting in an inability to distinguish it from the Greek religion which co-existed alongside it there; disregard for the spatial and temporal distribution of the evidence for particular Egyptian religious phenomena; and insensitivity to the need, which I have emphasised above, of analysing Egyptian religious beliefs and practices within the context of a specific regional and chronological setting. His book epitomises the sort of narrow and outmoded approach beyond which it is essential to move if further progress is to be made in this area of study.

Frankfurter thinks that the older indigenous religion not only survived but flourished at Akhmim during Shenoute's lifetime. His arguments for this view will not bear close scrutiny, however. Typical is his treatment of the famous incident related in Besa's *Life*, when Shenoute went to the village of Pleuit with the intention of destroying the idols there.[83] According to Besa, some inhabitants of the village learned of his mission and buried some charms, made in accordance with books which they had, in the road in order to prevent him from entering the place. Their plot was foiled when the ass which Shenoute was riding detected the charms and dug them up with his hoof. Shenoute instructed his assistant to collect them and bring them along so that they could be hung around the necks of those who had concealed them in his path. When his opponents saw him enter Pleuit with the charms, however, they fled and he was able to go into the temple unhindered and overthrow the idols which he discovered there.

On the basis of this passage, Frankfurter asserts that Pleuit must have been a hotbed of pagan activity, its inhabitants united in solidarity through their fervent devotion to their ancestral deities. He claims the town 'was maintaining its full allegiance to native religious

[82] So VAN DER VLIET, art. cit., seems to think.

[83] LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia* 1 (Paris, 1906), p. 41, nos. 83-4.

traditions and institutions' (p. 78), while its people 'actively resisted his (scil. Shenoute's) crusade' (p. 82). The burial of the charms in Shenoute's pathway was 'a united action among villagers to repel the abbot using the materials of traditional execration rites' (p. 209). Moreover, this action was instigated and directed by one or more priests who, through their charisma, effectively exercised leadership in Pleuit. According to Frankfurter, there are 'numerous indications that a priest or priests were responsible for leading the execration rituals' and 'Besa's account of the episode regards it as a combined act of the villagers. The priest, the master of curses, is very much a member of the community' (p. 236). Finally, he claims that Shenoute's raid had no real lasting effect, its victims remaining obdurate in their original beliefs, since 'Shenoute in his own sermon on the event never indicates that Pleuit was won over to Christ' (p. 69).

All of this is sheer fantasy. Besa says simply that the attempt to stop Shenoute from entering Pleuit was made by some 'pagans' (ϩЄⲗⲗHNOC). No indication is given of their number or what proportion of the village's population they represented – there could have been only a handful of individuals involved. Nor does Besa say what form of religion the pagans espoused. This could have been Greek rather than Egyptian. No description is given of the charms that were buried in the road, so the claim that their concealment was a 'traditional execration rite' is unwarranted. The text says nothing about who directed the operation, so there are no grounds for assuming that the instigators were priests, whether presenting a united front with their fellow villagers or otherwise.

In fact, Besa's account, which Frankfurter is disposed to accept at face value, says that Shenoute went to Pleuit alone, except for a single assistant. If the village really was populated exclusively by fanatical pagans, whipped up into an anti-Christian frenzy by charismatic priestly leaders, then it is hard to see how one man, his servant, and his donkey could have entered it, overthrown its idols in the teeth of their opposition, and escaped safely. Moreover, in assuming the historical credibility of this account, Frankfurter overlooks the fact that it is clearly modelled upon the story of Balaam and his ass in Chapter 22 of the Book of Numbers, only with the outcome reversed: whereas in the latter, God's power is able to bar the way of the magician who has been summoned to place a curse upon his chosen people by their enemies, in the former, the power of pagan magic is insufficient to impede the progress of the righteous Shenoute, who is coming to anathematise the enemies of God's people and destroy the images of their deities. Besa did not need to draw this contrast explicitly, since he knew well that anyone who had even a slight familiarity with the Bible would be able to recognise the parallel.

Precisely what effect Shenoute's raid had upon the religious beliefs of the pagans of Pleuit is impossible to say. One point can be made, however. It is clear from Frankfurter's remarks on p. 209 of his book that he identifies as 'Shenoute's own sermon on the event' the work edited by Johannes Leipoldt under the title 'De idolis vici Pneueit II'.[84] The chief

[84] LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia* 3, pp. 86-90, no. 26.

reason why Shenoute says nothing there about the conversion of the population of Pleuit after his raid is that this sermon probably has nothing to do with that incident. The Latin title quoted above is the invention of the text's editor, not part of the original manuscript, and the idea that the sermon is connected with Shenoute's attack on the temple of Pleuit purely a hypothesis of Leipoldt's. There is nothing in the text itself to warrant such an idea. This has been pointed out elsewhere by Stephen Emmel (see reference cited in note 80 above), who offers an altogether more nuanced and responsible analysis of the episode considered here.

Much the same criticism can be made of Frankfurter's treatment of one of Besa's letters.[85] In this, the monk writes to a group of local people who are quarrelling among themselves over what he calls 'a piece of wood' (OYϪⲁKMЄ NϢЄ). He admonishes them not to fight, since such behaviour is displeasing to both God and men. No further details are given about the 'piece of wood' which is the object of the quarrel. It could literally be a fragment of that material or, if Besa uses the term in a disparaging way, some object made of wood which he means to imply is not sufficiently important to allow a disruption in community relations to occur because of it, e.g. a boat, an agricultural implement, or a piece of irrigation equipment. According to Frankfurter, however, this is 'most likely a reference to an Egyptian religious image and the object (along with its devotees) of a local iconoclastic movement' (p. 79). Later on, he drops the qualification 'most likely' and simply asserts that the 'piece of wood' is an idol (p. 281). But there is nothing whatsoever in Besa's letter to justify such a claim and, in fact, it is clear from what Besa says that all parties involved in the dispute are Christians. To see in his remarks a reference to an idol would only occur to someone who was obsessed with the need to find a pagan lurking under every bed in the Panopolite nome.

It would be easy to multiply examples of the sort illustrated above, but the result would be a postscript longer than the article to which it is appended. Suffice it to say that, in my view, such egregious distortion and misrepresentation of evidence disqualifies Frankfurter's book from consideration as a work of serious scholarship.

[85] K.H. KUHN, *Letters and Sermons of Besa* (Louvain, 1956), pp. 129-30, no. 41.

HEINZ-JOSEF THISSEN

ACHMIM UND DIE DEMOTISCHE LITERATUR*

P. Wien KM 3877 enthält die Beschimpfung eines Harfenspielers durch einen anonymen Dichter. Der Text ist vermutlich im 1. - 2. Jhdt. n. C. niedergeschrieben worden und ist insofern einmalig, als sich bisher keine weiteren parallelen Texte haben auffinden lassen — das kann sich natürlich noch ändern. In meiner Bearbeitung dieses Textes vor einigen Jahren[1] hatte ich mich dazu verleiten lassen, als möglichen Ort der Entstehung Achmim-Panopolis zu favorisieren, Die von mir dort vorgetragene Aufzählung demotischer Texte und griechischer Dichter aus Panopolis[2] hatten die Veranstalter dieses Symposions wohl dazu bewogen, mich aufzufordern, über Achmim, oder besser: über Panopolis und die demotische Literatur zu referieren. Dabei bedeutet "demotische Literatur" in diesem Falle "literarische Texte in demotischer Schrift"; zu anderen demotischen Texte aus Panopolis vgl. die Beiträge von M. Chauveau und M. Smith.

Die folgenden Ausführungen richten sich in erster Linie an die Nicht-Demotisten; dennoch hoffe ich, die Demotisten mit der einen oder anderen Bemerkung provozieren zu können.

Die folgenden drei Texte haben Panopolis als Herkunftsort und stammen mit Sicherheit aus derselben Schreiberschule; es handelt sich um:

1. P. BM 10508, die sogen. "Lehre des Anchscheschonqi", vom Ersteditor Glanville "Instructions of Onkhsheshonqy" genannt.[3] Dem Spürsinn von M. Smith verdanken wir es,

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* Die vorliegende Fassung weicht von dem am 17. 12. 1998 gehaltenen Vortrag in mehrfacher Hinsicht ab, da in der Zwischenzeit zum Thema ein Beitrag von J. DIELEMAN in *SAK* 25 (1998) erschienen ist (s. Anm. 31) und ein Beitrag von mir in *SAK* 27 erscheint. Während der Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies in Kopenhagen (23. - 27. August 1998) hat sich J.F. Quack "Zur Chronologie der demotischen Weisheitsliteratur" geäußert. Auch seine Argumentation ist hier berücksichtigt.

[1] *Der verkommene Harfenspieler. Eine altägyptische Invektive* (P. Wien KM 3877) (Demotische Studien 11, Sommerhausen, 1992).

[2] Ibid. 80-3.

[3] Die Sekundärliteratur zu diesem Text wird immer umfangreicher; die wichtigsten Angaben habe ich in *TUAT* III 2, 251 zusammengestellt.

Die demotische Schreibung des Namens deutet auf die Aussprache *Chascheschonqi (so schon B.H. STRICKER, *OMRO* 39 [1958], 56 Anm. 3) hin, die J.F. QUACK, *GM* 123 (1991), 91 Anm. 3 mit Hilfe vergleichbarer demotischer Schreibungen bestätigt hat und hartnäckig propagiert. Dennoch möchte ich, um Verwirrung bei Nicht-Fachleuten zu vermeiden, an der durch Glanville eingeführten (und im Deutschen entsprechend modifizierten) Form festhalten.

daß wir Panopolis als Herkunftsort kennen;[4] die Handschrift ist in die 1. Hälfte des 1. Jhdts v. C. zu datieren.[5] Es handelt sich um eine Sammlung von Aussprüchen, Sprichwörtern, Gnomen etc., die auch aus anderen, z. T. äußerst fragmentarischen Texten bekannt sind. So scheint z. B. P. Cairo 30682[6] (aus Gebelen?, ptol.), der Spruchreste aus Anchscheschonqis Kol. 7 enthält, auf dieselbe Quelle zurückzugehen. Aber in P. Cairo 30682 sind die Sprüche im Unterschied zum panopolitischen Text nicht zeilenweise, sondern fortlaufend niedergeschrieben. P.inv. Sorbonne 1260 (Magdola, 1. Hälfte Ptol.-Zeit) zeigt nach den Feststellungen seines Editors[7] nur oberflächliche Ähnlichkeit mit P. BM 10508 und ist allenfalls ein weiterer Beleg für die Existenz von Spruchsammlungen.

Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi bietet noch eine Besonderheit auf: ihr ist eine Rahmenerzählung vorangestellt, die sich den verwendeten Personennamen zufolge in der 26. Dynastie abspielt.[8] Darin wird von einer Verschwörung berichtet, in die Anchscheschonqi verwickelt ist. Nach der Aufdeckung dieser Verschwörung landet er im Gefängnis und bittet um Papyrus und Schreibpalette, damit er seinem Sohn eine "Lehre" schreibe. Da ihm der Papyrus verweigert wird, zerschlägt er die Töpfe, in denen er zu trinken erhält, und schreibt auf die Scherben. Diese Ostraka werden zum Königshaus gebracht und vor dem König und seinem Hofstaat verlesen, anschließend — so haben wir uns die Entstehung des Textes vorzustellen — auf Papyrus notiert. Diese Fiktion — tägliches Einsammeln der beschriebenen Scherben, Vorlesen am Königshof und anschließende Niederschrift — ist eine glänzende Erklärung dafür, daß in der Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi keinerlei Ordnung herrscht: es gibt bisweilen mehrere Sprüche, die zuammenhängen, dann jede Menge isoliert stehender Sprüche; zu einem bestimmten Thema, z. B. dem Verhalten der Frau gegenüber, kommen an verschiedenen Stellen Sprüche vor; ein bestimmtes Thema

[4] M. SMITH, 'Budge at Akhmim, January 1869', in: *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, edd. C. EYRE – A. LEAHY – L. MONTAGNO LEAHY (Occasional Publications 11, London, 1994), 293-303.

[5] Natürlich ist zwischen Niederschrift eines Manuskriptes und dessen möglicherweise viel älteren Inhalt zu unterscheiden. J.F. Quack versuchte in seinem Kopenhagener Vortrag anhand einiger (weniger) Anhaltspunkte im Text den Beweis für eine Datierung in die späte Saitenzeit zu führen. In der anschließenden Diskussion wies ich darauf hin, daß in einer Sammlung von Sprichwörtern, Gnomen älteres Spruchgut zu erwarten ist; das ändert nichts an der Datierung des Manuskriptes. Die Situation ist dieselbe, als wenn wir in einer modernen deutschen Sammlung von Sprichwörtern und Bauernregeln Sätze finden wie "Etwas im Schilde führen", "das Kind mit dem Bade ausschütten", "sein Licht unter den Scheffel stellen" etc., die allesamt lange vor unserer Zeit entstanden sind (und bald kaum noch verstanden werden).

[6] W. SPIEGELBERG, in: *Die demotischen Demkmaler, II. Die demotischen Papyrus* (CGC 30601-31270, 50001-50165, Straßburg, 1908), 345; H.S. SMITH, 'A Cairo text of part of the 'Instructions of Onchsheshonqy'', in: *JEA* 44 (1958), 121f.

[7] M. PEZIN, 'Fragment de sagesse démotique (P. inv. Sorbonne 1260)', in: *Enchoria* 11 (1982), 59 - 61.

[8] Auch die Rahmenhandlung diente J. F. Quack als Kriterium für seine frühe Datierung (s. Anm. 5). Doch wies T. Dousa (Oriental Institute Chicago) darauf hin, daß dieser Datierung die in Kol. 1, 14 uö. erwähnte Ernennung der Brüder des Harsiesis zu Priestern *iwṯ tn* "ohne Abgabe" widerspreche, denn diese Steuer für die Zulassung zum Priesteramt (= τελεστικόν) ist erst in der Ptolemäerzeit belegt.

wird in positiven und negativen Formulierungen behandelt, z. B.: "Diene Deinem Gott . . .", an späterer Stelle: "Zögere nicht, Deinem Gott zu dienen . . .".[9] Darin sehe ich auch die Originalität bzw. das panopolitanische: die Rahmenerzählung macht es möglich, die Sprüche beliebig anzuordnen. In der Zwischenzeit ist diese Rahmenerzählung separat, d. h. ohne Spruchsammlung auf einem Kopenhagener Papyrus aufgetaucht, der in das 1. - 2. Jhdt. n. C. gehört.[10]

2. Die Lehre des P. Insinger;[11] sie ist in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jhdts. v. C. niedergeschrieben worden.[12] Im Gegensatz zu der gerade skizzierten Sprichwörter-Sammlung ist der Text des P. Insinger eine überlegt aufgebaute, aus fortlaufend numerierten Kapiteln bestehende Lehre, nach Art der Lehre des Amenemope. Inhaltlich jedoch ist die Differenz zu den früheren Lehren unübersehbar. Jedes Kapitel enthält eine Reihe paradoxer Formulierungen von der Art wie die zwei folgenden:

> 27, 16: Es gibt den, der wegen seiner Milde verachtet wird, und doch ist er deswegen einem anderen gegenüber geduldig.
>
> 27, 17: Es gibt den, der hochmütig ist, und trotzdem wird seine Name in der Öffentlichkeit geehrt.

Als Besonderheit schließt jedes Kapitel, ägyptisch *sbȝ.t* "Lehre" genannt, mit dem Satz "Das Schicksal und der Zufall, die eintreten — Gott ist es, der sie sendet" sowie der Summe der vorangehenden Sprüche. Dieser Refrain enthält die beiden Schlüsselwörter "Schicksal" (äg. *šy*) und "Zufall" (*sḫn*), die trotz Spiegelbergs einzig zutreffender Übersetzung (eben: "Schicksal" und "Zufall") in den meisten deutschen Übersetzungen falsch wiedergegeben sind. Wir werden darauf zurückkommen. P. Insinger, das sogen. "Demotische Weisheitsbuch", ist in weiteren Handschriften aus dem Fajum erhalten, deren Fragmente sich u. a. in Kopenhagen und Philadelphia befinden und — soweit ich sehe — in die römischen Zeit zu datieren sind.

3. Der nach dem Ersteditor benannte P. Spiegelberg,[13] der die Erzählung vom Kampf um die Pfründe des Amun enthält, eine Erzählung, die dem sogen. Inaros-Petubastis-Kreis angehört. Auch diese Niederschrift gehört in die 1. Hälfte des 1. Jhdts v. C.;[14] die übrigen Erzählungen dieses Zyklus, soweit bisher publiziert, wurden in römischer Zeit und im

[9] Kol. 6, 1 bzw. 7, 14.

[10] P. Carlsberg 304 und weitere dazu gehörige Fragmente, K. RYHOLT, in: *The Carlsberg Papyri* 3. *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies* (Copenhagen, 2000), 113 ff.

[11] Edition und wichtigste Sekundärliteratur in *TUAT* III 2, 281.

[12] J.F. Quack schlug in seinem Vortrag (s. Anm. 1) eine Datierung in die erste Hälfte der Saitenzeit als möglich vor. Doch hier wurden (u. a. von F. Hoffmann) ähnliche Bedenken geäußert, wie sie anschließend zum P. BM 10508 zur Sprache kamen.

[13] W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem Straßburger Papyrus* (Demotische Studien 3, Leipzig, 1910).

[14] Nach F. HOFFMANN, *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 38-9.

Fajum niedergeschrieben. Ein von John Ray 1972 publiziertes Kalkstein-Ostrakon mit einigen Zeilen aus der 1. Hälfte der Ptolemäerzeit beweist jedoch die naheliegende Vermutung, daß diese Erzählungen älter sind als ihre Niederschriften.[15]

Im folgenden beschränke ich mich auf einige Bemerkungen zu den beiden erstgenannten Texten. Dabei spielt Achmim - Panopolis selbst nur eine untergeordnete Rolle; ich weise jedoch vorsichtshalber auf die Bemerkung Herodots im 91 Kapitel seines 2. Buches hin: Chemmis — so transkribiert er den ägyptischen Namen *Ḫnṯ-Mn* — sei die einzige Stadt Ägyptens, die zur Übernahme griechischer bzw. nicht ägyptischer Sitten bereit sei.[16] Auf die im *Harfenspieler* gemachte Aufzählung griechischer Dichter und Schriftsteller, deren Werke in Panopolis gefunden wurden, habe ich einleitend hingewiesen; in jüngster Zeit haben J. Yoyotte und D. Frankfurter die Bedeutung dieser Stadt unterstrichen.[17] Nimmt man noch das bequeme Hilfsmittel der *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* hinzu und blättert darin, so dürfte nicht nur die Frage eines Rezensenten[18] beantwortet sein, ob denn Archilochos, Simonides oder Hipponax in der ägyptischen Chora hinlänglich bekannt gewesen seien, um einen ägyptischen Dichter zu beeinflussen. Meiner Meinung nach ist Panopolis ein Zentrum der Begegnung von ägyptischer und griechischer Kultur gewesen.

Im folgenden möchte ich einige Zitate aus der Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi und der Lehre des P. Insinger kommentieren.[19]

Zu Beginn der Spruchsammlung beschreibt Anchscheschonqi, welches Chaos in einem Lande ausbrechen kann, wenn Re zornig ist. U. a. heißt es:

> Kol. 5, 12: Wenn Re einem Lande zürnt, dann wird er seinen Schreiber zum obersten Beamten (*sḫn*) über es machen.
>
> Kol. 5, 13: Wenn Re einem Lande zürnt, dann wird er seinen Wäscher zum Befehlshaber machen.

Meine Interpretation dieser Zeilen ist natürlich subjektiv. Es dürfte jedoch Übereinstimmung darin herrschen, daß der Beruf des Wäschers nicht als attraktiv galt; dafür haben wir als Zeugen die Lehre des Cheti, wo vom Wäscher gesagt wird: "Der Wäscher wäscht am Kai, indem er dem Krokodil nahe ist . . . Seine Speise ist mit Beschmutzung vermischt, und es gibt kein Glied von ihm, das rein ist . . . Er weint, wenn er den Tag mit der Wäscherkeule verbringt und der Stein (auf dem die Wäsche gewaschen

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[15] J. RAY, 'Two Inscribed Objects in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge', in: *JEA* 58 (1972), 247-253. Was ich im Vortrag zu P. Spiegelberg ausgeführt habe, dazu vgl. *SAK* 27 (1999), 369-387.

[16] Dazu auch A.B. LLOYD, *Herodotus. Book II. Commentary 1 - 98* (EPRO 43, Leiden, 1976), 367-370.

[17] J. YOYOTTE, in: J. YOYOTTE - P. CHARVET - S. GOMPERTZ, *Strabon. Le Voyage en Égypte. Un regard romain* (Paris, 1997), 156 Anm. 389. D. FRANKFURTER, *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, 1998), 311 s. v. Panopolis.

[18] M. CHAUVEAU, in: *CdÉ* 71 (1996), 64.

[19] Die Übersetzungen sind, sofern nicht anders vermerkt, meine eigenen.

wird) bei ihm ist . . .".[20] Insofern ist die Aussage Anchscheschonqis verständlich: es ginge alles drunter und drüber, wenn ein solcher Mensch plötzlich eine hohe Stellung erreichte. Aber in derselben Lehre wird die Stellung des Schreibers als die höchste gepriesen, die man erreichen kann. Wie kann man unter diesem Blickwinkel die negative Aussage Anchscheschonqis erklären bzw. verstehen? M. E. nur, wenn man in Erwägung zieht, daß *sḫ* > ⲥⲁϩ nicht nur "Schreiber", sondern auch διδάσκαλος "Lehrer" bedeuten kann,[21] in der ausführlichen Form *sḫ n ˁ.t-sbȝ* (so in einem von Spiegelberg publizierten Krugtext, in dem es um die Jugend des Wunderkindes Si-Osiris geht[22]). Wenn man sich die geringe soziale Stellung des Lehrers in der griechisch-römischen Zeit vor Augen führt, wie sie z. B. in der immer noch unübertroffenen Darstellung von H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*[23] beschrieben wird, bekommt der Satz bei Anchscheschonqi Sinn.

In Kol. 4, 17 wird die Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi als *mtr.t* bezeichnet, während die einzelnen Kapitel des P. Insinger mit *sbȝ.t* überschrieben werden. Den Unterschied zwischen beiden Termini habe ich früher einmal[24] so zu kennzeichnen versucht: *mtr.t* bedeutet "Zeugnis", im konkreten Falle des Anchscheschonqi: das Zeugnis praktischer Erfahrung, die sich in den Sprüchen widerspiegelt; *sbȝ.t* ist demgegenüber die theoretische Lehre, überspitzt ausgerückt: *mtr.t* ist Praxis, *sbȝ.t* ist Theorie. Selbstverständlich ist diese Unterscheidung nicht einstimmig akzeptiert worden,[25] und darum möchte ich sie anhand der beiden Texte noch einmal erläutern.

Es ist allgemein aufgefallen, daß viele der Monosticha des Anchscheschonqi sich auf die Landarbeit und das ländliche Leben beziehen, z. B.:

> 8, 15: Wenn Du auf dem Felde arbeitest, verweichliche Deinen Körper nicht!
>
> 8, 16: Sag nicht: 'Siehe, die Parzelle meines Bruders!' — auf Deine eigene sollst Du blicken!
>
> 9, 8: Unterschätze nicht eine Angelegenheit, die eine Kuh betrifft.
>
> 9, 11: Sag nicht: 'Mein Acker steht in Blüte' — höre nicht auf, ihn zu inspizieren.
>
> 9, 14: Sag nicht: "Ich habe das Feld gepflügt, (aber) man hat nicht bezahlt" — pflüge nochmals, Pflügen ist gut.

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[20] Abschn. 19 nach W. HELCK, *Die Lehre des Dwȝ-Ḫtjj* (KÄT, Wiesbaden, 1970), 111.

[21] Zum διδάσκαλος als Schreiber vgl. E. LÜDDECKENS, *Demotische Urkunden aus Hawara* (VOHD Suppl. 28, Stuttgart, 1998), 16 Anm. 5 mit Verw. auf *P. L. Bat.* 20 (1980), 104 (zu 9).

[22] W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Texte auf Krügen* (Demotische Studien 5, Leipzig, 1912), 18 (Krug B, Z. 7).

[23] Deutsch: *Geschichte der Erziehung im klassischen Altertum* (dtv WR 4275, München), 278 - 281. Vgl. auch R. CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (ASP 36, Atlanta GA, 1996), 13 - 26.

[24] *Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi* (PTA 32, Bonn, 1984), 3 - 6.

[25] Z. B. bezweifelt von R.K. RITNER, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 642-3; zustimmend J.F. QUACK, *Die Lehren des Ani* (OBO 141, Freiburg – Göttingen, 1994), 83 Anm. 3. Einen anderen Standpunkt nimmt N. SHUPAK, *Where can wisdom be found? The Sage's language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature* (OBO 130, Freiburg – Göttingen, 1993), 361 Anm. 8. 363 Anm. 18 ein.

24, 18: Wer nicht den Weizen (pl.) seines Vaters fährt, wird die Kleie von (anderen) Scheunen fahren.[26]

Daraus ist lange Zeit der Schluß gezogen worden, daß "die Schrift für ein Publikum von kleinen Bauern bestimmt [ist]; eine gewissen Banalität und Primitivität der Morallehren ist deshalb vorherrschend".[27] Abgesehen davon, daß ähnliche Aussagen wie diejenigen aus Anchscheschonqi auch schon in dem hieratisch geschriebenen P. Brooklyn 47.218.135,[28] der zwischen 570 und 520 v. C. geschrieben wurde[29] vorkommen, ist bei der Beurteilung übersehen worden, daß auch wir heute noch Lebensweisheiten aus dem bäuerlichen Bereich besitzen; wir nennen sie "Bauernregeln" (*country lore, dictons populaires*). Sie haben einen über die konkrete Situation hinausgehenden, allgemeinen Sinn und gehören in den Bereich dessen, was man "Vulgär-" bzw. "praktische Ethik" nennt. Das dürfte aus den zitierten Beispielen ohne Weiteres hervorgehen. Andererseits ist die Beobachtung gemacht worden, daß in der griechischen Literatur Sprüche (παροιμίαι) des gleichen Inhaltes noch vor dem Beginn eigentlicher Literatur stehen: οἱ γὰρ ἀγροῖκοι μάλιστα γνωμοτύποι εἰσί sagt Aristoteles (*Rhet.* B 21 p. 1395a). Es ist nicht verwunderlich, daß hinsichtlich der zitierten landwirtschaftlichen Sprüche viele Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Hesiods Bauernkalender (*Erga* 383ff.) und Anchcheschonqi festgestellt worden sind;[30] man muß deswegen aber nicht, wie es geschehen ist, eine von Hesiod zu Anchscheschonqi führende Tradition konstruieren.

Solche Aussagen fehlen im P. Insinger, weil — ich gehe einen Schritt weiter — der *t3 mtr.t* genannte Text des Anchscheschonqi eine Gnomen- bzw. eine Sentenzensammlung aus dem Bereich praktischer Ethik ist. Dem stehen gegenüber die *sb3.t* genannten Kapitel des P. Insinger, die eine reine, d. h. nicht-vulgäre Ethik (um die Bezeichnung "philosophische Ethik" zu vermeiden) zum Inhalt haben. Im P. Insinger fehlen die in früheren Lehren üblichen Hinweise z. B. auf Verhalten bei Tisch und Benehmen den Höherstehenden gegenüber, also die Hinweise auf den Verhaltenskodex innerhalb der Gesellschaft, an den man sich zu halten hat, um zu Erfolg zu haben. Stattdessen wird eine Lehre, besser: eine Theorie entwickelt, in deren Mittelpunkt nicht mehr der gesellschaftliche Erfolg, sondern eine Art

[26] Lesung u. Übers. JASNOW, *Enchoria* 11 (1982), 111 mit Verw. auf P. Louvre 2380; zu *šᶜ3* "Kleie" J.F. QUACK, *WdO* 27 (1996), 5-8.

[27] A. VOLTEN, in: *OLZ* 52 (1957), 126 (Rez. zu S.R.K. GLANVILLE, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum.* Vol. II: *The Instructions of ᶜOnchsheshonqy [British Museum Papyrus 10508]* [London, 1955]). Auch ich (*LÄ* s.v. 'Lehre des Anchscheschonqi') hatte diesen Adressatenkreis vermutet, zuletzt noch H. STERNBERG, in: *TUAT* III 2, 193: "So sind z. B. die Adressaten der L. d. A. die bäuerliche Bevölkerung, deren Zentrum das Dorf ist; denn zahlreiche Sprüche enthalten Hinweise auf das Landleben".

[28] R. JASNOW, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)* (SAOC 52, Chicago, 1992). Ausführliche Besprechungen einschl. einer deutschen bzw. französischen Übersetzung: J.F. QUACK, in: *WdO* 24 (1993), 5 - 19; J. WINAND, *CdE* 78, 1998, 42 - 53.

[29] Zur Datierung vgl. U. VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift* (OLA 99, Leuven, 2001), 319 ff.

[30] P. WALCOT, 'Hesiod and the Instructions of Onchsheshonqy', in: *JNES* 21 (1962), 215-9. Id., *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff, 1966), Kap. IV: 'Didactic Literature in Greece and the Near East' (S. 80 - 103).

von Schicksalslehre steht, oder anders formuliert: der Erwerb der Fähigkeit, sich in das zu fügen, was Gott sendet.

Ich sehe das Verhältnis der beiden Texte, der Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi und der Lehre des P. Insinger als kontrastierend an; um es mit der Terminologie griechischer Philosophie zu formulieren: die Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi vertritt die Vulgär-Ethik, P. Insinger die nicht-vulgäre resp. die philosophische Ethik. Eine solche Unterscheidung ist in den früheren ägyptischen Lebenslehren nicht festzustellen, weil dieser Unterschied nicht gemacht wird bzw. nicht existiert.

Das ist bewußt übertrieben formuliert; ich will an einem Beispiel verdeutlichen, was ich meine.

Ein gemeinsames Thema beider demotischen Texte ist die Frau. Mit diesem Thema hat sich J. Dieleman in einem aufschlußreichen und gründlichen Beitrag beschäftigt.[31] Allerdings erscheint mir die Furcht vor der weiblichen Sexualität als Motiv negativer Aussagen zu einseitig. Vielmehr steckt dahinter die Auffassung von der Frau als von minderer Qualität gegenüber dem Manne, wie sie exemplarisch Aristoteles, *Rhetorica* I 9, 22 formuliert hat: καὶ αἱ τῶν φύσει σπουδαιοτέρων ἀρεταὶ καλλίους καὶ τὰ ἔργα, οἷον ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικός: "Ferner sind die Tugenden und Leistungen derjenigen, die von Natur aus vortrefflicher sind, schöner: z. B. die des Mannes im Vergleich zu denen der Frau".[32] Vergleichbar deutliche Aussagen gibt es in den ägyptischen Lebenslehren nicht, erst in der *Lehre des Ani* wird die Rangfolge der Geschlechter angesprochen: "Frag eine Frau: 'Was ist ihr Mann?' Frag einen Mann nach seinem Amt".[33] Anchscheschonqi formuliert drastisch: "Eine Frau ist ein Steinbruch; der Stein(block) ist es, der ihn bearbeitet" (Kol. 24, 20).[34]

[31] J. DIELEMAN, 'Fear of women? Representations of women in demotic wisdom texts', in: *SAK* 25 (1998), 7 - 46.

[32] Text: *Ars Rhetorica* ed. W.D. ROSS (Oxford, 1959). Übersetzung: *Aristoteles. Rhetorik*, übers. v. F.G. SIEVEKE, (5. Auflage, UTB 159, München, 1995), 49. Aristoteles' Haltung erscheint besonders rigoros und war in der Antike durchaus nicht durchgängig akzeptiert: R. HAWLEY, 'The Problem of Women Philosophers in Ancient Greece', in: *Women in Ancient Societies*, edd. L.J. ARCHER - S. FISCHLER - M. WYKE (Houndmills, 1994), 74. 83. Aber die aus vielen griechischen Zeugnissen aufscheinende Praxis bestätigt Aristoteles' Ausspruch.

[33] Vgl. J.F. QUACK, *Die Lehren des Ani* (s. Anm. 23), 104 (T). 105(Ü). Zur Beibehaltung der traditionellen Bezeichnung *Lehre des Ani* vgl. die Rezension H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERTS, in: *WdO* 28 (1997), 20. Heinz Felber hat mich an diesen Satz erinnert; ich danke ihm für ein gedankenreiches Gespräch, auf das auch die folgende Interpretation zurückgeht. Im Gegensatz zu A. DEPLA, 'Women in Ancient Egyptian Wisdom Literature', in: *Women in Ancient Societies* (s. vor. Anm.) 44 bin ich überzeugt davon, daß mit diesem Ausspruch die Frau dem Mann nachgeordnet ist.

[34] Zum Satz K.-TH. ZAUZICH, in: *Wege öffnen. Fs. Gundlach* (ÄAT 35, Wiesbaden, 1996), 381-2: "Eine Frau ist ein Steinbruch; der Steinblock ist es, der sie schwängert". Seine Lesung *tpy < dpw* "großer Steinblock" ist überzeugend; *b(3)k* heißt allerdings, soweit ich sehe, nie "schwängern", sondern "schwanger (sein)": Belege bei E. CRUZ-URIBE, *Saite and Persian Cattle Documents* (ASP 26, Chico CA, 1985), 120 s. v. *bk* "(be) pregnant". Zu *b(3)k* "bearbeiten" mit dir. Obj. vgl. P. Reinach 5, 9. 24: E. BOSWINKEL - P.W. PESTMAN, *Archives privées de Dionysios* (P. L. Bat. 22, Leiden, 1982), 109: . . . *r tm b3k=w* (sc. die Äcker). *sḫm.t* "Frau" und *ḥ.t* "Steinbruch" sind beide fem. gen., daher bezieht sich das Obj.-Suffix auf beide!

Das tertium comparationis besteht darin, daß Frau und Steinbruch "bearbeitet" werden müssen.[35] Diese Haltung der Frau gegenüber kommt in weiteren Sätzen zum Vorschein:

13, 16: Öffne nicht Dein Herz Deiner Frau — was Du ihr gesagt hast, gehört der Straße.

13, 17: Öffne nicht Dein Herz Deiner Frau (oder) Deinem Diener.

13, 18: Du sollst es Deiner Mutter öffnen, sie ist eine (verschwiegene?) Frau.

13, 20: Belehrung einer Frau — ein Maß Sand, das aufgeschnitten ist.

13, 21: Ihr erspartes Vermögen ist Diebstahl.

13, 22: Das, was sie heute mit ihrem Mann macht, pflegt sie morgen mit einem anderen zu treiben.

Ein solcher ψόγος γυναικῶν "Tadel der Frauen"[36] ist m. W. in früherer ägyptischer Literatur nicht belegt; diese Sätze zeigen, daß zwischen "Wahrheit" und Wirklichkeit die Lücke klaffte, die W. Helck kurz und treffend beschrieben hat.[37] Allerdings gibt es bei Anchscheschonqi auch andere, positive Formulierungen:

8, 22: Der Segen eines Vermögens ist eine weise Frau.

14, 16: Verstoß nicht eine Frau aus Deinem Haus, die nicht schwanger werden und gebären kann.

Die Begründung zu diesem letzten Satz liefert

17, 21: Eine Frau, die man geliebt hat, wird verlassen, wenn sie verstoßen (worden) ist.[38]

[35] Der Steinblock hat also *pace* Zauzich nicht den Sinn "Dummkopf" oä.; das in hieroglyphischen Texten äußerst selten, im Demotischen nur an dieser Stelle belegte Wort *dp(w)* > *tpy* ist m. E. bewußt gewählt worden, um die Assoziation *tp* "erster" zu erzeugen. Zur Inbetriebnahme der Steinbrüche vgl. R. KLEMM – D. KLEMM, *Die Steine der Pharaonen* (Ausstelllungskatalog Staatl. Slg. München, München, 1981), 31 - 36; Abb. 35 auf S. 34 zeigt Steinhämmer aus Dolerit, auf die die Bezeichnung *dp(w)* "stone object" (R. CAMINOS, *Late-Egyptian miscellanies* [Brown Egyptological Studies 1, London-Oxford, 1954], S. 471) zutreffen könnte.

[36] Vgl. unten P. Insinger 8, 10 u. meine Ausführungen in: *Enchoria* 14 (1986), 159-160; *Der verkommene Harfenspieler. Eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877)* (Demotische Studien 11, Sommerhausen, 1992), 54-5.

[37] In: *Nofret – Die Schöne. Die Frau im Alten Ägypten. "Wahrheit" und Wirklichkeit* (Katalog Ausstellung Hildesheim, 1985), 9 - 12. Von dem in klassischen Texten geschönten, "wahren" Bild der Frau und ihrer Rechte in Ägypten hat sich zuletzt noch T. MORGAN, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 1998), 136-7 täuschen lassen, die davon abgesehen S. 135-8 die negativen Äußerungen in der griechischen Literatur anschaulich beschreibt.

[38] So überzeugend DIELEMAN, *SAK* 25 (1998), 20 mit A. 29: "A woman who is loved; after she is abandoned, one abandons her", d. h. eine geschiedene Frau, von ihrem Mann verlassen, wird sozial isoliert; ebenso 40. Das Schlüsselwort der demotischen Scheidungsurkunden lautet *ḫ3ʿ* "verlassen, verstoßen" im Sinne von "scheiden" (vgl. z. Wort auch B. MATHIEU, *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne* (BdE 115, Le Caire, 1996), 159 u. Anm. 530. Damit scheidet m. E. die (mündl. in Leiden) geäußerte Ansicht J.F. Quack's, in 14, 16 könne *ḫ3ʿ* auch "lassen" = "verweilen lassen" bedeuten, aus.

Die Mutter nimmt auch hier wie anderswo eine Ausnahmestellung ein[39] (s.o. 13, 18):

10, 23: Wäre doch meine Mutter meine Haarmacherin, daß sie mir tut was schön ist!

21, 23: Bist Du des Nachts durstig, soll Deine Mutter Dich trinken lassen!

Im P. Insinger ist das Thema "Frau" in der 9. "Lehre" (*sb3.t*) behandelt; dort lesen wir:

8, 5 Eine schöne Frau, die keinen anderen Mann aus der Verwandtschaft geliebt hat, ist eine weise Frau.

8, 6 Schlechte Frauen (, die sich) in der genannten Weise (verhalten), sind nicht zahlreich.

8, 7 Ihre gute Veranlagung rührt von der Stimme Gottes in ihnen.

8, 9 Es gibt die, die als Hausherrin wegen ihres Charakters hoch gepriesen wird.

8, 10 Es gibt die, die ich aus 'Der Tadel der schlechten Frauen'[40] kenne.

8, 11 Fürchte sie um der Furcht vor Hathor willen!

8, 15 Es ist nicht diejenige eine anständige Frau, die vor jemand anderem gelobt wird.

8, 16 Es ist nicht diejenige allgemein dumm, die sich in der Allgemeinheit ungebührlich benimmt.

8, 18 Das Werk der Mut und der Hathor ist es, das unter Frauen vorgeht.

8, 19 In den Frauen sind der gute und der böse Dämon auf Erden wirksam.

Der Unterschied dürfte klar sein: solch negative Aussagen über die Frau, wie wir sie in Anchscheschonqi lesen, finden wir in keiner früheren ägyptischen Lehre.[41] Es gibt wohl die negativen Darstellungen von Frauen in den Erzähltexten — ich erinnere an P. Westcar oder an P. d'Orbiney; in den Lebenslehren erscheinen Frauen "Maat"-gemäß positiv bewertet, eine Ausnahme bildet die Warnung vor der Frau "aus der Fremde" in der Lehre des Ani.[42]

[39] Besonders deutlich in der Liebesdichtung: A. HERMANN, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 104f. Neben dem Art. 'Mutter' im *LÄ* vgl. auch DEPLA, 'Women in Ancient Egyptian Wisdom Literature' (s. Anm. 33) 40 uö; M. LICHTHEIM, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context* (OBO 52, Freiburg – Göttingen, 1983), 48; T. MORGAN, *Literate Education* (s. Anm. 37) 138.

[40] = ψόγος γυναικῶν, s. Anm. 36.

[41] Insofern spricht M. LICHTHEIM zu recht davon "that satire had here found a new target" vgl. *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature*, 50.

[42] Nach J.F. QUACK, *Die Lehren des Ani*, 156f. handelt es sich dabei um eine verheiratete Frau; H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERT weist in seiner Rezension (*WdO* 28, 24) m. E. überzeugend nach, daß diese Interpretation nicht zutrifft; es handelt sich um eine "Außenseiterin", d. h. eine Prostituierte. In der Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi gibt es natürlich auch die Warnungen vor der verheirateten Frau (8, 12. 21, 18. 19. 23, 6. 7).

Nun ist das negative oder besser, im Verhältnis zum Mann minderwertigere Bild der Frau in den antiken Literaturen durchgängig belegt, in der griechischen Literatur: z. B. der frühe "Weiberjambus" des Simonides (7. Jh.), Florilegien mit Warnungen vor bzw. negativen Bewertungen von Frauen, z. B. in den P. Berlin 9772 u. 9773 bis hin zu Johannes Stobaios (5. Jh. n.C.), in der altorientalischen oder jüdischen Literatur: z. B. die Testamente der 12 Patriarchen. Daß dieses Thema in der Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi so behandelt wird, wie es den zitierten Stellen zu entnehmen ist, sehe ich auf dem Hintergrund der eben gemachten, durchaus überspitzt formulierten Unterscheidung: Anchscheschonqi als Vertreter der Vulgär-Ethik, P. Insinger als Vertreter der philosophischen Ethik.

Die unterschiedlichen Intentionen kommen m. E. noch auf eine andere Weise zum Ausdruck: die Spruchsammlung des Anchscheschonqi besteht zum größten Teil (mehr als 90%) aus positiv oder negativ formulierten Imperativen, Aufforderungen an den intendierten Hörer/Leser. Im P. Insinger ist es beinahe umgekehrt: nur ein ganz geringer Teil der Formulierungen wendet sich imperativisch an den Hörer/Leser; der größte Teil des Textes besteht aus den drei Elementen: "observation, explication, and conclusion";[43] ich habe es modifizierend genannt: Problembeschreibung, paradoxe Auflösung und Anerkennung von "Gottes freiem Willen". Mit diesem Thema, Gottes freiem Willen, der sich, wie schon gesagt, in dem Refrain niederschlägt: "Schicksal und Zufall, die eintreten — Gott ist es, der sie sendet" — mit diesem Thema ist ein Endpunkt in einer Diskussion erreicht, die spätestens in der Lehre des Amenemope einsetzt, in der vom Belieben Gottes die Rede ist. Die Maat kommt kaum noch vor,[44] es geht auch nicht, um den Zusammenhang zwischen Tun und Ergehen ("cause and effect-relationship"); diese Kausalität ist völlig aufgehoben, mehr noch: wir finden schon früher den Gedanken, daß bei Verschiedenheit der Pläne Gottes und des Menschen sich Gott durchsetzt (Ani, Amenemope); im P. Insinger kommen die Paradoxa der eingangs zitierten Art hinzu, daß es dem guten Menschen schlecht und dem schlechten Menschen gut gehen könne, ein Beispiel:

> 7, 13: Es gibt den, der bescheiden lebt, um zu sparen, und er gerät (trotzdem) in Armut.
>
> 7, 14: Es gibt den, der das nicht kann, und das Schicksal gibt ihm (trotzdem) Reichtum.
>
> 7, 15: Nicht der Weise, der spart, ist es, der ein Guthaben vorfindet.
>
> 7, 16: Andererseits ist es nicht der Verschwender, dessen Begleiter die Armut ist.[45]

[43] Nach M. LICHTHEIM, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature*, 139.

[44] Bei Anchscheschonqi 5, 12 in der Form *md.t-mɜʿ.t* und der alten Bedeutung "Maat", in 13, 15 in der Bedeutung "Wahrheit" (die man sagen soll), vgl. G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (ÄAT 38, Wiesbaden, 1998), Teil II, 305 (zu Z. 10) mit Verw. auf M. LICHTHEIM, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (OBO 120, Freiburg – Göttingen, 1992), 100-1.

[45] Vgl. zu diesem Zitat auch C. UEHLINGER, 'Qohelet im Horizont mesopotamischer, levantinischer und ägyptischer Weisheitsliteratur der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit', in: *Das Buch Kohelet*, hrsgb. v. L. SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *(ZAW* Beiheft 254, Berlin - New York, 1997), 226-8.

Die beiden Zentralbegriffe, die ich in der Übersetzung des "Refrains" jedes Kapitels mit "Schicksal" und "Zufall" wiedergegeben habe, lauten äg. *Šy* und *sḫn*: Ihre deutsche Übersetzung mit "Schicksal" und "Zufall" stammt von Spiegelberg und ist die einzig richtige (ebenso engl. "fate and fortune" und frz. "destinée et fortune"); ich erwähne das deswegen, weil man in deutschen Übersetzungen Begriffe wie "Geschick und Glück" oder auch umgekehrt: "Glück und Geschick" oä. auftauchen; sie verfälschen damit den Sinn, denn wir wissen aus griechischen Texten daß *Šy* mit δαίμων und *sḫn* mit τύχη bzw. συμβαίνειν wiedergegeben wird.[46] Die ägyptischen Begriffe sind ebenso wertneutral wie die griechischen; sie können mit positiven und negativen Epitheta versehen werden. Betrachtet man den mit diesen beiden Begriffen und der Rolle Gottes gebildeten "Refrain" des P. Insinger, so befindet man sich in einer Diskussion, die in der Zeit der Niederschrift des Textes hochaktuell war: die Wechselbeziehung zwischen "Eigenverantwortlichkeit" und "Determinismus", spätestens seit Aristoteles schriftlich formuliert: im dritten Buch der "Nikomachischen Ethik"; von da an wird dieses Thema immer wieder behandelt, in der stoischen Philosophie und schließlich kulminierend in einem Buch mit dem Titel Περὶ εἱμαρμένης des Philosophen Alexander von Aphrodisias (Ende 2. - Anfang 3. Jhdt. n. C.). Wenn nun in der Lehre des P. Insinger der Zusammenhang zwischen Tun und Ergehen aufgegeben ist, wenn man also in modernem Sinne von Determinismus sprechen könnte, warum hat der demotische Schreiber dann eine so lange und gewichtige Lehre geschrieben?

Die Antwort darauf ist eine ägyptische, damit können wir den terminus "Determinismus" streichen; diese Antwort besteht aus einem Begriff, den Erik Hornung für die Gottesvorstellung eingeführt hat; er lautet: Komplementarität;[47] d. h. in diesem Falle: der Ägypter sieht die Abhängigkeit von Gott und die freie Wahl zu handeln, nicht als Gegensätze an, sondern als gegenseitige Ergänzungen — das wird in einem Satz ausgedrückt wie dem folgenden:

> 5, 9: Fluch und Segen liegen in dem Charakter, der dem Menschen gegeben ist.

Ich möchte noch auf zwei Textstellen hinweisen, die mir im Sinne des Symposiums "panopolitanisch", d. h. kennzeichnend für die Begegnung ägyptischen und griechischen Gedankengutes erscheinen.

1. Die 24. Lehre des P. Insinger (30, 17ff.) lautet: "Der Weg, die Größe Gottes zu erkennen" und besteht aus einem Preis Gottes und seiner Schöpfung. Wenn wir dort u. a. lesen:

[46] Es gibt noch andere Korrespondenzen; ich gebe nur die wichtigsten Entsprechungen an: zu δαίμων βασιλέως ≈ *pɜ Šy (n) Pr-ʿɜ* vgl. *P. L. Bat.* 21B (1981), 515. Zu *sḫn* ≈ τύχη u. συμβαίνω vgl. W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)* (Heidelberg, 1922), 187-8 Nr. 325. 326.

[47] In: *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 237f.

31, 20: Wie denn gehen Sonne und Mond am Himmel auf und unter?

31, 21: Wasser, Feuer und Wind — wohin gehen sie, woher kommen sie?

dann halte ich die Erwähnung des Feuers für bemerkenswert, und ich frage mich, ob hier nicht stoischer Einfluß vorliegt.[48] Quasi als Bestätigung fand Philippe Derchain in einem Sobek-Hymnus in Kom Ombo die Erwähnung der Schöpfung des Feuers nebst der übrigen drei Elemente der stoischen Schöpfungslehre.[49]

2. In *Enchoria* 25 (1999), 27 ff. hat J. F. Quack[50] darauf hingewiesen, daß in der 16. Lehre des P. Insinger (18, 5 - 12), die eigentlich vom materiellen Wohlstand handelt, auf Balsamierung und Totengericht angespielt wird; die Art und Weise dieser Anspielung berührt sich eng mit der Beschreibung des Totengerichtes bei Diodor (I 93-5).[51]

Abschließend noch eine Anmerkung: es mag Zufall sein, daß die bisher früheste Handschrift des P. Insinger aus Panopolis stammt. J. Quaegebeur hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß der Gott Schai in der Gegend von Achmim-Panopolis eine besondere Verehrung genoß; die von ihm zusammengestellten Listen der mit "Schai" gebildeten Personennamen unterstreichen diese Feststellung.[52]

Eingangs hatte ich erwähnt, daß Achmim-Panopolis in meinem Beitrag nur indirekt vorkommen werde. Als Herkunftsort der drei genannten Texte bildete es für mich eine Art Folie, mit deren Hilfe ich eine geistige Situation zu beschreiben versuchte, die sicherlich nicht nur dort bestimmend war. Im Rückblick auf das Symposium fügen sich diese Anmerkungen in das dort entstandene Bild von Panopolis.

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[48] Den M. LICHTHEIM, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature*, 123 an verschiedenen Stellen des P. Insinger nachgewiesen hat.

[49] PH. DERCHAIN, 'Le stoïcien de Kom Ombo', in: *BSEG* 22 (1998), 17 - 20.

[50] Dessen Argumentation jetzt allerdings von M. STADLER, *SAK* 29 (2001), 340 ff. bestritten wird.

[51] In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf die Schlußzeilen des P. Insinger verwiesen, die offensichtlich ("Möge sich seine Seele verjüngen . . .") darauf hinweisen, daß diese Textfassung einem Toten mitgegeben wurde.

[52] J. QUAEGEBEUR, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique* (OLA 2, Leuven, 1975), 163-4. 279ff., bes. 282f.

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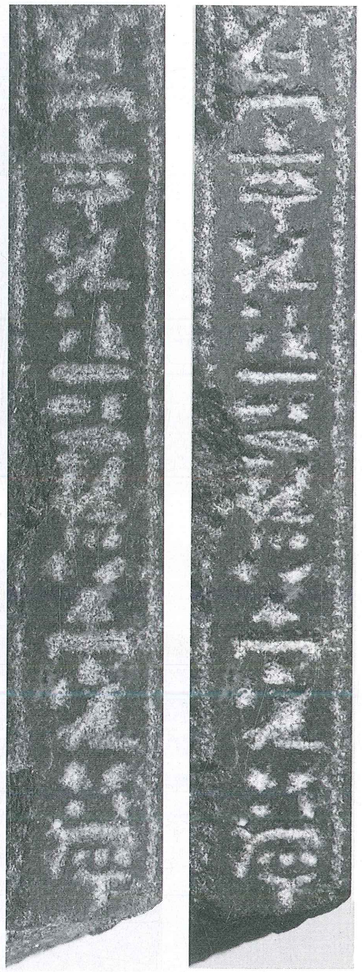
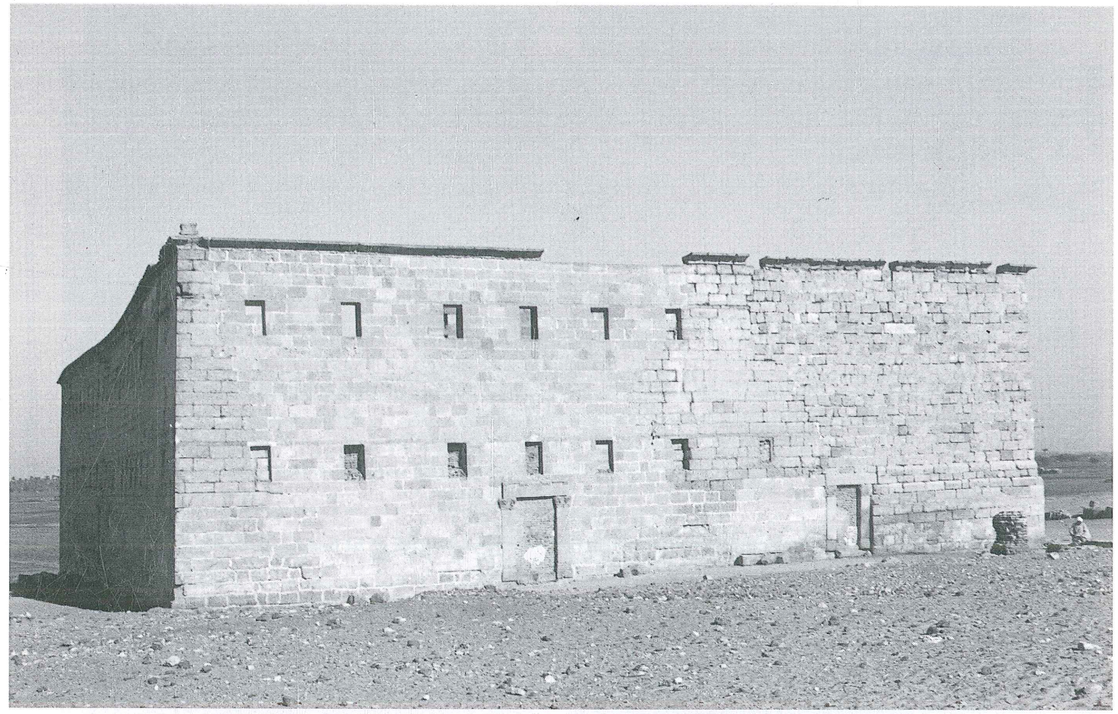
PLATES

Ia. Der Naophor BOSAE Inv. Nr. L 885, Naos-Detail mit Darstellung des Gottes Min.



Ib. Der Naophor BOSAE Inv. Nr. L 885, Rückenpfeiler-Detail, 2. Spalte, Namenfolge.

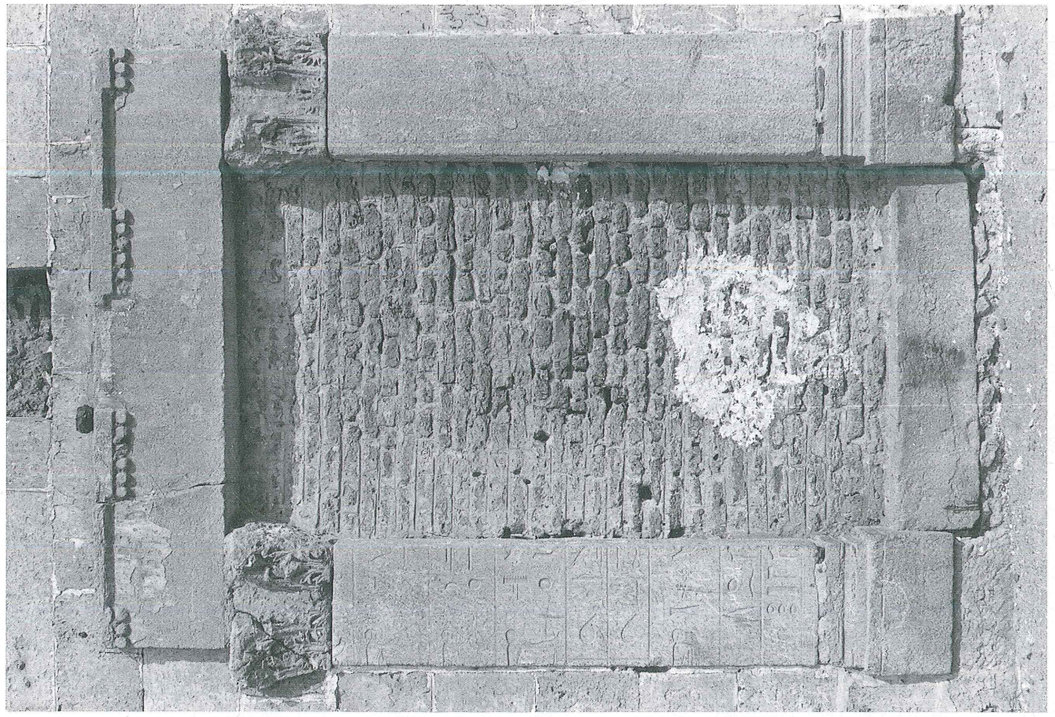
II. Der Naophor des *Inarôs*, BOSAE Inv. Nr. L 885.



IIIa. Westseite der Kirche des Schenuteklosters.

IIIb. Nördlicher Haupteingang der Kirche.

IVb. Eine der Wandnischen des westlichen Narthex.

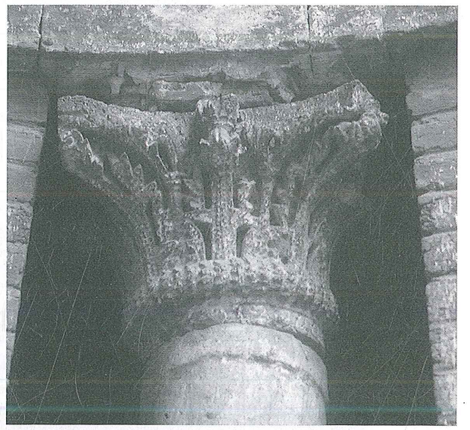


IVa. Nordtür der Westseite.

Va. Kapitell der Säulen des Naos mit Medusenhaupt am Abakusknauf.

Vb. Medusenhaupt.

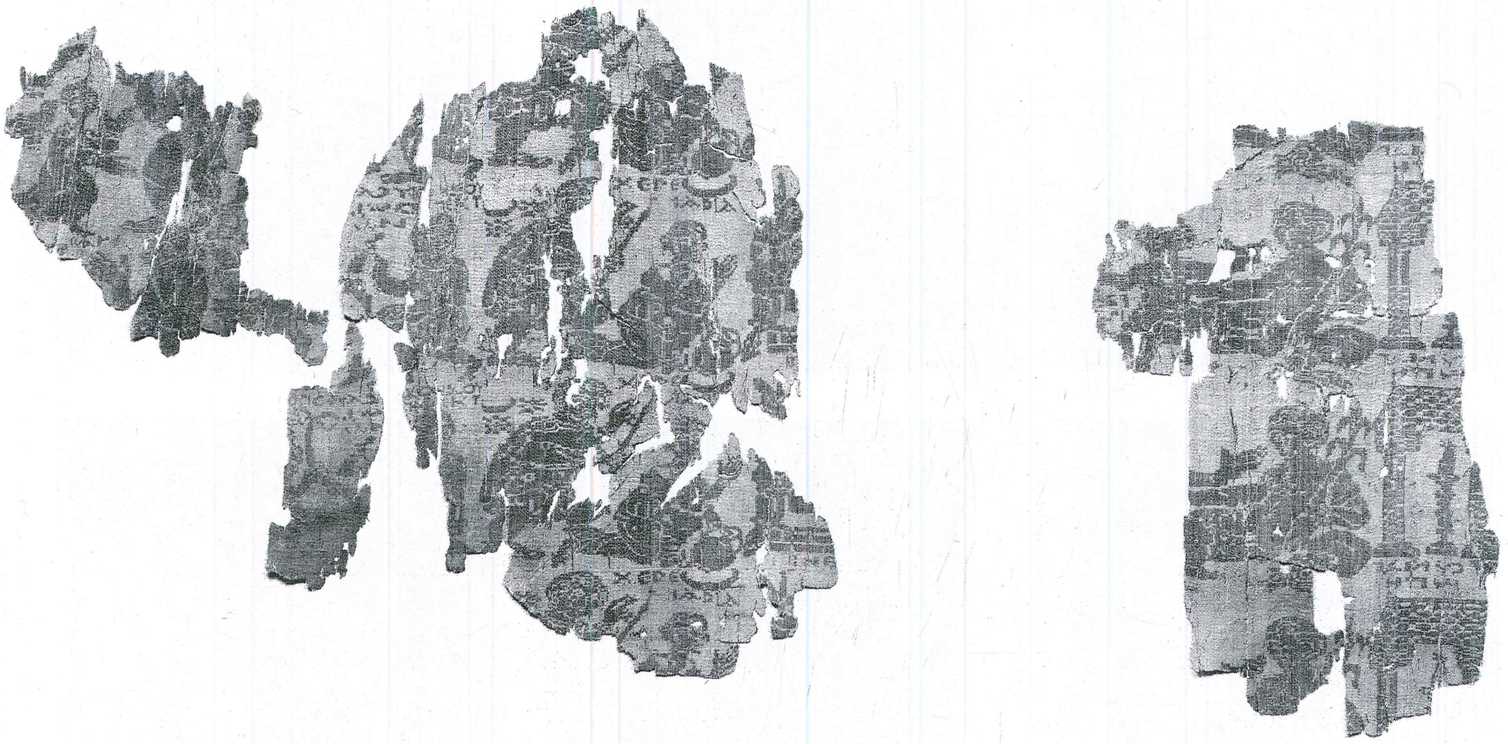
Vc. Nordkonche des Narthex, Kapitell der mittleren Säule.



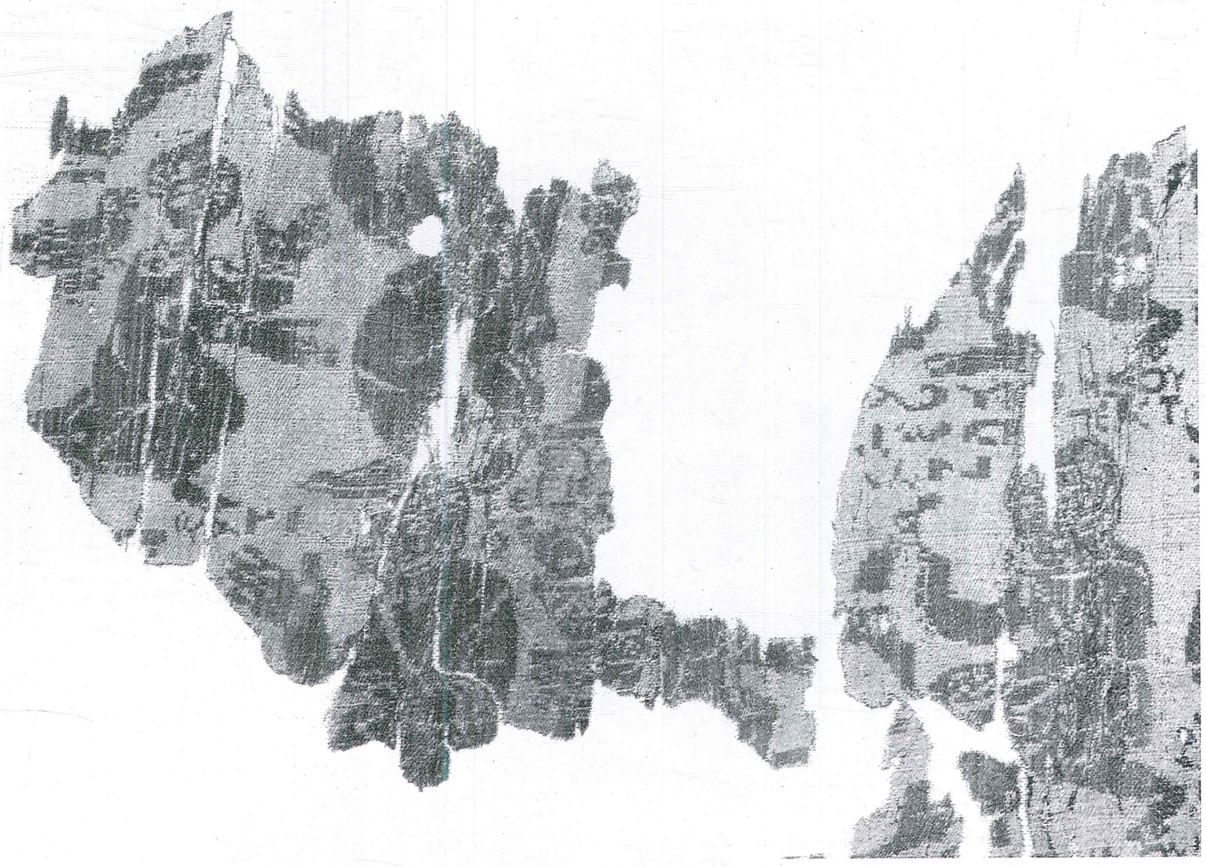
Vd. Nordkonche des Narthex, Kapitell der zweiten Säule von rechts.

Ve. Wiederverwendetes Kompositkapitell aus Marmor am Trikonchoseingang.

Vf. Eines der Spolienkapitelle im oberen Rang des Trikonchos.



VI. The Mary Silk. (Copyright: CH-3132 Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung (Christoph von Viràg).)



VII. The Mary Silk: Mary before the High Priest (left), and column capital and basket (right).
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VIII. The Mary Silk: Selection of Joseph (left), and Annunciation (right).
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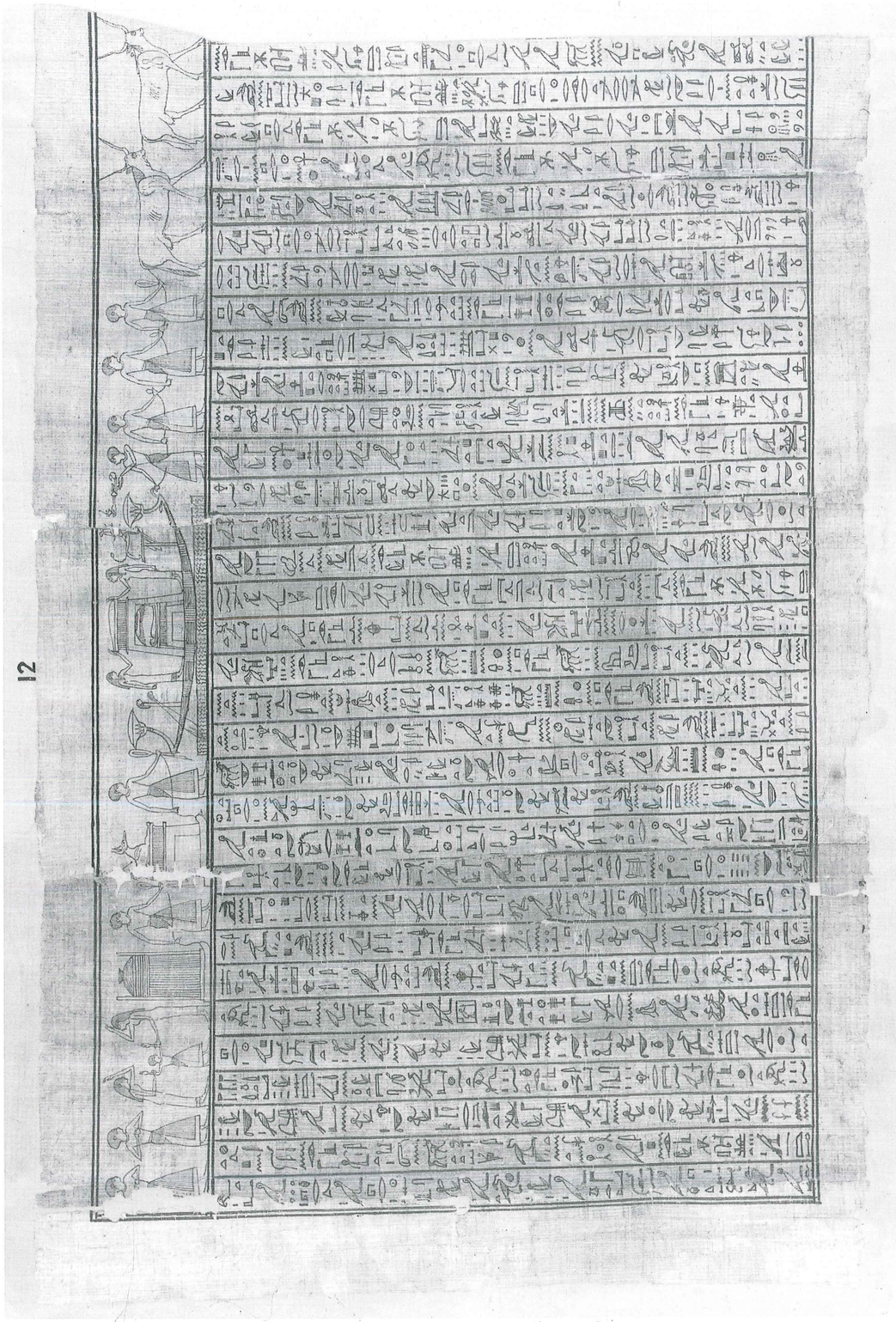

IX. Partial view of P. BM 10479.